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THE
ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
OF THE
Church of ENGLAND.

By GILBERT BURNET, D.D.
Late Lord Bishop of *Sarum*.

The SIXTH EDITION corrected.

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A N
ABRIDGMENT
 O F T H E
 History of the REFORMATION
 O F T H E
Church of ENGLAND.

B O O K I I .

*Of the Life and Reign of King Edward
 the Sixth.*

E D W A R D was the only Son of Book II.
 King Henry, by his best be-
 loved Wife *Jane Seimour*, ^{1547.}
 born the Twelfth of *October*, King Ed-
 1537. ward's
 Birth and
 His Mother died 12 Days Educa-
 after he was born, of a Distemper incident to tion.

Women in her Condition; and was not rip-
 ped up by Chirurgeons, as some Writers have
 reported, on Design to represent King Henry

Abridgment of the History

Book II.

1547.

as barbarous and cruel to all his Wives. At Six Years of Age, he was put into the Hands of Dr. Cox and Mr. Ckeek; the one was to form his Mind, and to teach him Philosophy and Divinity; the other was to teach him the Tongues and Mathematicks: Other Masters were also appointed for the other Parts of his Education. He discovered very early a good Disposition to Religion and Virtue, and a particular Reverence for the Scriptures: For he took it very ill, when one about him laid a great Bible on the Floor to step up on it to somewhat which was out of his Reach without such an Advantage. He profited well in Letters, and wrote, at Eight Years old, *Latin* Letters frequently both to the King, to Queen Catharine Parre, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his Uncle the Earl of Hartford, who had been first made Viscount Beauchamp, being the Heir by his Mother of that Family, and was after that advanced to be an Earl.

In the End of his Father's Life, it had been designed to create him Prince of *Wales*: For that was one of the Reasons given to hasten the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, because he held some Places during Life, which the King intended to put in other Hands, in order to that Ceremony. Upon his Father's Death, the Earl of *Hartford* and Sir *Anthony Brown* were sent to bring him up to the Tower of *London*: And when King *Henry's* Death was published, he was proclaimed King.

King Hen-
ry's Tes-
tament.

At his coming to the *Tower*, his Father's Will was opened, by which it was found that he had named 16 to be the Governors of the King

Kingdom, and of his Son's Person, till he should be Eighteen Years of Age. These were the Archbishops of *Canterbury*; the Lord *Wriothesly*, Lord Chancellor; Lord *St. John*, Great Master; Lord *Russel*, Lord Privy-Seal; Earl of *Hartford*, Lord Great Chamberlain; Viscount *Lisle*, Lord Admiral; *Tonstall*, Bishop of *Duresme*; Sir *Anthony Brown*, Master of the Horse; Sir *William Paget*, Secretary of State; Sir *Edward North*, Chancellor of the Augmentations; Sir *Edward Montague*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas; Judge *Bromley*; Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert*, chief Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber; Sir *Edward Wotton*, Treasurer of *Calais*; and Dr. *Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. They were also to give the King's Sisters in Marriage; and if they married without their Consent, they were to forfeit their Right of Succession: For the King was empowered, by Act of Parliament, to leave the Crown to them with what Limitations he should think fit to appoint. There was also a Privy Council named, to be their Assistants in the Government. If any of the sixteen died, the Survivors were to continue in the Administration, without a Power to substitute others in their rooms who should die. It was now proposed, that one should be chosen out of the Sixteen, to whom Ambassadors should address themselves, and who should have the chief Direction of Affairs; but should be restrained to do nothing but by the Consent of the greater Part of the other Co-executors. The Chancellor, who thought the Precedence fell to him by his Office, since the Archbishop

Book II.

1547.

A Protec-
tor cho-
sen.Bishops
take out
Commis-
sions.

did not meddle much in secular Affairs, opposed this much, and said, It was a Change of the King's Will, who had made them all equal in Power and Dignity; and if any were raised above the rest in Title, it would not be possible to keep him within due Bounds, since great Titles make way for High Power. But the Earl of *Hartford* had so prepared his Friends, that it was carried, that he should be declared the Governor of the King's Person, and the Protector of the Kingdom, with this Restriction, that he should do nothing but by the Advice and Consent of the rest. Upon this Advancement, and the Opposition made to it, two Parties were formed; the one headed by the Protector, and the other by the Chancellor: The Favourers of the Reformation were of the former, and those that opposed it were of the latter. The Chancellor was ordered to renew the Commissions of the Judges and Justices of the Peace; and King *Henry's* Great Seal was to be made use of, till a new one should be made. The Day after this, all the Executors took their Oaths to execute their Trust faithfully. The Privy Counsellors were also brought into the King's Presence, who did all express their Satisfaction in the Choice that was made of the Protector: And it was ordered, that all Dispatches to Foreign Princes should be signed only by him. All that held Offices were required to come and renew their Commissions, and to swear Allegiance to the King. Among the rest, the Bishops came and took out such Commissions as were granted in the former Reign; only by those they were subaltern to the King's Vicegerent;

gerent; but there being none now in that Office, they were immediately subaltern to the King; and by them they were to hold their Bishopricks only during the King's Pleasure, and were impowered in the King's Name, as his Delegates, to perform all the Parts of the Episcopal Function. *Cranmer* set an Example to the rest, in taking out one of those. It was thought fit thus to keep the Bishops under the Terror of such an Arbitrary Power lodged in the King, that so it might be more easy to turn them out, if they should much oppose what might be done in Points of Religion: But the ill Consequences of such an unlimited Power being well foreseen, the Bishops that were afterwards promoted, were not so fettered, but were provided to hold their Bishopricks during Life.

Book II.

1547.

The late King had, in his Will, required his Executors to perform all the Promises he had made. So *Paget* was required to give an Account of the Promises the late King had made; and he declared upon Oath, That upon the Prospect of the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the King intended a Creation of Peers, and to divide his Lands among them. The Persons to be raised, were, *Hartford* to be a Duke, *Essex* a Marquis; *Liste*, *Russel*, *St. John*, and *Wriothefly*, to be Earls; Sir *Thomas Seimour*, *Cheyney*, *Rich*, *Willoughby*, *Arundel*, *Sheffield*, *St. Leger*, *Wymbish*, *Vernon*, and *Danby*, to be Barons; and a Division was to be made of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Estate among them. Some Shares were also set off for others, who were not to be advanced in Title, as *Denny* and *Herbert*: And they finding Pa-

A Creation of Noble-men.

Book II. *get* had been mindful of *them*, but had not mentioned *himself*, had moved the King for a Share to *him*. The King appointed *Paget* to give Notice of this to the Persons named; but many excused themselves, and desired no Addition of Honour, since the Lands which the King intended to give them were not sufficient to support that Dignity. The Duke of *Norfolk* prevented all this; for being apprehensive of the Ruin of his Family, if his Estate were once divided, he sent a Message to the King, desiring him to convert it all to be a Revenue to the Prince of *Wales*. This wrought so much on the King, that he resolved to reward those he intended to raise another way, and he appointed that Estate to be kept entire: And the King's Distemper encreasing on him, he at last came to a Resolution, That the Earl of *Hartford* should be made a Duke, and be made both Earl Marshal and Lord Treasurer; the Earl of *Essex* a Marquis, *Lisle* and *Wriothesly* Earls, and *Seimour*, *Rich*, *Sheffield*, *St. Leger*, *Willoughby* and *Danby* Barons, with Revenues in Lands to every one of them: And the Earl of *Hartford* was to have the first good Deanry and Treasurership, and the four best Prebends that should fall in any Cathedral. But though the King had resolved on this, and had ordered *Paget* to propose it to the Persons concerned, yet his Disease encreased so fast on him, that he never finished it: And therefore he ordered his Executors to perform all that should appear to have been promised by him. The greatest Part of this was also confirmed by *Denny* and *Herbert*, to whom the King had talked of it, and had shewed the Design of it
in

in Writing, as it had been agreed between Book II. *Paget* and him. So the Executors being concerned in this themselves, it may be easily supposed that they determined to execute this Part of their Trust very faithfully : Yet the King being then like to be engaged in Wars, they resolved neither to lessen his Treasure nor Revenue, but to find another Way for giving the Rewards intended by the King ; which was afterwards done by the Sale and Distribution of the Chantry lands.

1547.

The Castle of *St. Andrews* was then much pressed ; so they sent down by *Belnaves*, the Agent of that Party, *Eleven hundred and eighty Pounds* for the Pay of the Garrison : They gave also Pensions to the chief Supporters of their Interest in *Scotland*, to some 250, to others, 200 *l.* or less, according to their Interest in the Country. The King received the Ceremony of Knighthood from the Protector, and knighted the Mayor of *London* the same Day.

The Grant of so many Ecclesiastical Dignities to the Earl of *Hartford* was no extraordinary thing at that Time ; for as *Cromwell* had been Dean of *Wells*, so divers other Laymen were provided to them ; which was thus excused, because there was no Cure of Souls belonging to them : And during Vacancies, even in Times of Popery, the Kings had by their own Authority, by the Right of the *Regale*, given Institution to them ; so that they seemed to be no spiritual Employments, and the Ecclesiasticks that had enjoy'd them, had been a lazy and sensual Sort of Men : So that their abusing those Revenues, either to Luxury, or

Laymen
had Eccle-
siastical
Dignities.

Book II. to the enriching their Kindred by the Spoils
 1547. of the Church, had this Effect, That the putting them in Lay-hands gave no great Scandal; and that the rather, because a simple Tonsure qualified a Man for them by the Canons. These Foundations were at first designed for Nurseries to the Dioceses, in which the young Clergy were to be educated; or for a Retreat, to those who were more speculative, and not so fit for the Service of the Church in the active Parts of the pastoral Care: So it had been an excellent Design to have reformed them and restored them to the Purposes for which they were at first intended: And it was both against *Magna Charta*, and all natural Equity, to take them out of the Hands of Church-men, and give them to those of the Laity. But it was no Wonder to see Men yet under the Influence of the Canon Law commit such Errors.

Some
 take
 down I-
 mages.

At the same Time an Accident fell out, that made Way for great Changes; the Curate and Church-wardens of St. *Martin's* in *London*, were brought before the Council for removing the Crucifix, and other Images, and putting some Texts of Scripture on the Walls of their Church, in the Places where they stood: They answered, That they going to repair their Church, removed their Images, and they being rotten, they did not renew them, but put Places of Scripture in their Room: They had also removed others, which they found had been abused to Idolatry. Great Pains was taken by the Popish Party to punish them severely, for striking Terror into others; but *Cranmer* was for the removing
 of

of all Images, which were set up in Churches expressly contrary both to the second Commandment, and to the Practice of the Christians for divers Ages : And though in Compliance with the gross Abuses of Paganism, there was very early much of the Pomp of their Worship brought into the Christian Church, yet it was long before this crept in. At first all Images were condemned by the Fathers : Then they allowed the Use of them, but condemned the worshipping of them, and afterwards in the eighth and ninth Centuries, the Worshipping of them was (after a long Contest, both in the *East* and *West*, in which there were, by Turns, General Councils, that both approved and condemned them) at last generally received ; and then the Reverence for them, and for some in particular, that were believed to be more wonderfully enchanted, was much improved by the Cheats of the Monks, who had enriched themselves by such Means : And it was grown to such a Height, that Heathenism it self had been guilty of nothing more absurd towards its Idols ; and the singular Virtues in some Images, shewed they were not worshipped only as Representations ; for then all should have equal Degrees of Veneration paid to them. And since all these Abuses had risen meerly out of the bare Use of them, and the setting them up being contrary to the Command of God, and the Nature of the Christian Religion, which is simple and spiritual ; it seemed most reasonable to cure the Disease in its Root, and to clear the Church of Images, that so the People might be preserved from

Idola-

Book II.

1547.

Argu-
ments for
and a-
gainst it.

Book II. Idolatry. The Reasons prevailed so far, that the Curate and Wardens were dimissed with a Reprimand; they were required to beware of such Rashness for the Future, and to provide a Crucifix; and till that could be had, they were ordered to cause one to be painted on the Wall. Upon this, Dr. *Ridley* being to preach before the King, inveighed against the Superstition towards Images and Holy-water, and there was a general Disposition over all the Nation to pull them down; which was soon after effected in *Portsmouth*. Upon that, *Gardiner* made great Complaints; he said, The *Lutherans* themselves went not so far, for he had seen Images in their Churches; he argued from the King's Face on the Coin and great Seal, for the Use of Images; and that the Law of *Moses* did no more bind in this Particular, than in that of abstaining from Blood: He distinguished between Image and Idol, as if the one, which he said was only condemned, was the Representation of a false God, and the other of the true; and he thought, that as Words conveyed by the Ear, begat Devotion, so Images, by the Conveyance of the Eye, might have the same Effect on the Mind: He also thought, a Virtue might be both in them and in Holy-water, as well as there was in *Christ's* Garments, *Peter's* Shadow, or *Elisba's* Staff: And there might be a Virtue in Holy-water, as in the Water of Baptism. He also mentioned the Virtue that was in the Cramp-rings, blessed by the late King, which he had known to be much esteemed and sought after; and he hoped their young King would not

not neglect that Gift. But to these Things Book II.
which *Gardiner* wrote in several Letters, the 1547.
Protector, perhaps by *Cranmer's* Direction,
wrote Answer, That the Bishops had former-
ly argued much in another Strain; that be-
cause the Scriptures were abused by the vulgar
Readers, therefore they were not to be
trusted to them; and so made a pretended
Abuse the Ground of taking away that,
which by God's special Appointment was to
be delivered to all Christians: This did hold
much stronger against Images, that were for-
bidden by God. The brazen Serpent set up
by *Moses*, by God's own Direction, was
broken when abused to Idolatry; for that
was the greatest Corruption of Religion
possible; and the civil Respect paid to the
King's Image on a Seal, or on the Coin, did
not justify the Dotage upon Images: But yet
the Protector acknowledged he had Reason to
complain of the Forwardness of the People,
that broke down Images without Authority.
This was the first Step that was made in this
Reign towards a Reformation, of which the
Sequel shall appear afterwards. Orders were
sent to the Justices of the Peace, to look well
to the Peace and Government of the Nation,
to meet often, and every six Weeks to adver-
tise the Protector of the State of the County
to which they belonged.

The Funerals of the deceas'd King were The
performed with the ordinary Ceremonies at King's
Windsor. One Thing gave those that hated Funeral.
him some Advantages: His Body was carried
the first Day to *Sheen*, which had been a
Nunnery, and there some of the Moisture and
Fat

Book II. Fat dropt through the Coffin; and to make
 1547. it a compleat Accomplishment of *Peyto's* Denunciation, that *Dogs should lick his Blood*, it was said the Dogs next Day licked it. This in a corpulent Man was so far from a Wonder, that it had been a Wonder if it had been otherwise, and was a certain Sign of nothing but the Plummer's Carelesness, and their Weakness and Malice that made such Inferences from it. The King left *Six hundred Pounds a Year* to the Church of *Windſor*, for Priests to say Mass for his Soul every Day, and for four Obits a Year, and Sermons, and Distribution of Alms at every one of them, and for a Sermon every *Sunday*, and a Maintenance for thirteen poor Knights; which was settled upon that Church by his Executors in due Form of Law.

Soul-
 Masses
 examined.

The Pomp of this Endowment now in a more inquisitive Age, led People to examine the Usefulness of Soul-masses and Obits. Christ appointed the Sacrament for a Commemoration of his Death among the Living, but it was not easy to conceive how that was to be applied to departed Souls: For all the Good that they could receive, seemed only applicable to the Prayers for them; but bare Prayers would not have wrought so much on the People, nor would they have paid so dear for them. It was a clear Project for drawing in the Wealth of the World into their Hands. In the primitive Church there was a Commemoration of the Dead, or an honourable Remembrance of them made in the daily Offices; and for some very small Faults their Names were not mentioned; which would not have
 been

been done, if they had looked upon that as a Book II.
 Thing that was really a Relief to them in
 another State. But even this Custom grew to
 be abused; and some inferred from it, that
 departed Souls, unless they were signally pure,
 passed through a Purgation in the next Life,
 before they were admitted to Heaven: Of
 which St. *Austin*, in whose Time the Opinion
 was beginning to be received, says, that it
 was taken up without any sure Ground in
 Scripture. But what was wanting in Scripture-
 Proof, was supplied by Visions, Dreams, and
 Tales, till it was generally received. King
Henry had acted like one that did not much
 believe it; for he was to expect no good Usage
 in Purgatory, from those Souls whom he had
 deprived of the Masses that were said for them
 in Monasteries, by destroying those Foundati-
 ons: Yet, it seems, he intended to make sure
 Work for himself; so that if Masses could
 avail the departed Souls, he resolved to have his
 Share of it; and as he gratified the Priests by
 this Part of his Endowment, so he pleased the
 People by appointing Sermons and Alms to be
 given on such Days. Thus he died, as he had
 lived, swimming between both Perswasions.
 And it occasioned no small Debate, when Men
 sought to find out what his Opinions were in
 the controverted Points of Religion: For the
 Esteem he was in made both Sides study to
 justify themselves, by seeming to follow his
 Sentiments. The one Party said, He was re-
 solved never to alter Religion, but only to cut
 off some Abuses, and intended to go no far-
 ther than he had gone: They did therefore ve-
 hemently press the others to innovate nothing,
 but

Book II. but to keep Things in the State in which he left them, till his Son should come of Age.

1547.

The Co-
ronation.

But the opposite Party said, That he had resolved to go a great Way further, and particularly to turn the Mass to a Communion; and therefore Religion being of such Consequence to the Salvation of Souls, it was necessary to make all the Haste in Reformation that was fitting and decent. But now the Diversions of the Coronation took them off from more serious Thoughts. The Protector was made Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Essex* Marquis of *Northampton*, the Lord *Lisle* and *Wriothesly* Earls of *Warwick* and *Southampton*, *Seimour*, *Rich*, *Willoughby*, and *Sheffield* were made Barons. In order to the King's Coronation, the Office for that Ceremony was reviewed, and much shortned. One remarkable Alteration was, that formerly the King used to be presented to the People at the Corners of the Scaffold, and they were asked, If they would have him to be their King? Which looked only like a Rite of an Election, rather than a Ceremony of investing one that was already King. This was now changed, and the People were desired only to give their Assents and Good-will to his Coronation, as by the Duty of Allegiance they were bound to do. On the twentieth of *February* he was crowned, and a general Pardon was proclaimed, out of which the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pool*, and some others, were excepted.

The
Chancel-
lor turn-
ed out.

The Chancellor, who was look'd on as the Head of the Popish Party, gave now an Advantage against himself, which was very readily laid hold on. He granted a Commission to the Master

Master of the Rolls, and Three Masters of Book II.
Chancery, of whom Two were Civilians, to
 execute his Office in the Court of *Chancery*,
 as if he were present; only their Decrees were
 to be brought to him to be signed, before they
 should be enrolled. This being done with-
 out any Authority from the Protector and
 the other Executors, was thought a high Pre-
 sumption, since he did thereby devolve on
 others that Trust which was deposited in his
 Hands. Upon this some Lawyers complain-
 ed to the Protector; and they seemed also ap-
 prehensive of a Design to change the com-
 mon Laws; which was occasioned by the De-
 crees made by the Civilians, that were more
 suited to the Imperial, than to the *English*
 Laws. The Judges being desired to give their
 Opinions, made Report, That what the Chan-
 cellor had done was against Law, and that he
 had forfeited his Place, and might be impris-
 oned for it during Pleasure. But he carried
 it high; he threatned both the Judges and
 Lawyers; and when it was urged that he had
 forfeited his Place, he said, he had it from
 the late King, who had likewise named him
 one of the Executors during his Son's Mino-
 rity. But it was answered, That the Major
 Part had Power over any of the rest, otherwise
 one of them might rebel, and pretend he
 could not be punished by the rest. He being
 driven out of that, was more humble, and
 acknowledged he had no Warrant for granting
 the Commission: He thought by his Office he
 might lawfully do it: He asked Pardon for his
 Offence, and desired he might lose his Place
 with as little Disgrace as was possible; and
 then

Book II.

1547.

then it was reſolved on by the reſt, to take the Seal from him, and to fine him as they ſhould afterwards think fit. So he being ſuffered to go home with the Seal, the Lord *Seimour*, and ſome others, were ſent to demand it of him. He was alſo confined to his Houſe, and kept under the Terror of an Arbitrary Fine: But upon giving a Bond of *Four thouſand Pounds* to be paid upon Demand, he was freed from his Confinement. Yet he was not put out of the Truſt of the King and the Government; for, it ſeems, the Council did not look on that as a Thing that was in their Power to do.

March.
Protec-
tor's Pa-
tent.

Soon after this, the Protector took a Patent for his Office under the Great Seal, then in the keeping of the Lord St. *John*; by which he was confirmed in his Authority, till the King ſhould be eighteen Years of Age. He was alſo authoriz'd to bring in new Counſellors, beſides thoſe enumerated in the Patent, who are both the Executors and the Counſellors nominated by the late King. The Protector, with ſo many of the Council as he thought meet, were impowered to adminiſter the Affairs of the Kingdom; but the Council was limited to do nothing without his Advice and Conſent. And thus was he now as well eſta bliſhed in his Authority, as Law could make him. He had a Negative on the Council, but they had none on him; and he could either bring his own Creatures into it, or ſelect a Cabinet Council out of it, as he pleaſed: And the other Executors having now delivered up their Authority to him, were only Privy-Counſellors as the reſt were, without retain-

ing

ing any singular Authority peculiar to them, as was provided by King *Henry's* Will. Book II.

The first Business of Consequence that required great Consideration, was the *Smalcaldick* War, then begun between the Emperor and the Princes of that League; the Effects of which, if the Emperor prevailed, were like to be not only the extirpating of *Lutheranism*, but his being the absolute Master of *Germany*; which the Emperor chiefly designed, in Order to an Universal Monarchy, but disguised it to other Princes. To the *Pope*, he pretended that his Design was only to extirpate Heresy: To other Princes, he pretended it was only to repress some Rebels, and denied all Design of suppressing their new Doctrines; which he managed so artificially, that he divided *Germany* itself, and got some *Lutheran* Princes to declare for him, and others to be Neutrals: And having obtained a very liberal Supply for his Wars with *France* and the *Turk*, for which he granted an Edict for Liberty of Religion, he made Peace with both those Princes, and resolved to employ that Treasure which the *Germans* had given him, against themselves. That he might deprive them of their chief Allies, he used Means to engage King *Henry*, and *Francis* the First, in a War; but that was chiefly by their Interposition composed. And now, when the War was like to be carried on with great Vigor, they lost both those Princes; for as *Henry* died in *January*, so *Francis* followed him into another World in *March* following. Many of their Confederates began to capitulate and forsake them; and the divided Command of the Duke of *Saxe*,

1547.
The Affairs of
Germany.

Book II. *Saxe*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse* lost them
 1547. great Advantages the former Year; in which
 it had been easy to have driven the Emperor

The
 Council
 of *Trent*.

out of *Germany*: But it fell often out, that
 when one was for engaging, the other was a-
 gainst it; which made many very doubtful of
 their Success. The *Pope* had a Mind to en-
 gage the Emperor in a War in *Germany*,
 that so *Italy* might be at Quiet; and in or-
 der to that, and to embroil the Emperor with
 all the *Lutherans*, he published his Treaty
 with him, that so it might appear that the
 Design of the War was to extirpate Heresy;
 though the Emperor was making great Pro-
 testations to the contrary in *Germany*. He
 also opened the Council of *Trent*, which the
 Emperor had long desired in vain; but it
 was now brought upon him, when he least
 wished for it: For the Protestants did all de-
 clare, that they could not look upon it as a
 free General Council, since it was so entirely
 at the *Pope's* Devotion, that not so much as a
 Reformation of some of the grossest Abuses
 that could not be justified, was like to be ob-
 tained, unless clogged with such Clauses as
 made it ineffectual: Nor could the Emperor
 prevail with the Council, not to proceed to
 establish the Doctrine, and condemn Heresy;
 but the more he obstructed that by Delays, the
 more did the *Pope* drive it on to open the Eyes
 of the *Germans*, and engage them all vigo-
 rously against the Emperor: Yet he gave them
 such secret Assurances of tolerating the *Augs-
 burg* Confession, that the Marquis of *Bran-
 denburg* declared for him, and that joined
 with the Hopes of the *Electorate*, drew in
Maurice

Maurice of *Saxe*. The Count *Palatine* was old and feeble, the Archbishop of *Colen* would not make Resistance, but retired, being condemned by the *Pope* and Emperor; and many of the Cities submitted: And *Maurice*, by falling into *Saxe*, forced the Elector to separate from the Langrave, and return to the Defence of his own Dominions. This was the State of the Affairs in *Germany*. So that it was a hard Point to resolve on, what Answer the Protector should give the Duke of *Saxe's* Chancellor, whom he sent over to obtain an Aid in Money for carrying on the War. It was on the one Hand of great Importance to the Safety of *England* to preserve the *German* Princes; and yet it was very dangerous to begin a War of such Consequence under an Infant King. At present they promised, within three Months, to send by the Merchants of the *Still-yard*, Fifty thousand Crowns to *Hamburg*; and resolved to do no more, till new Emergents should lead them to new Councils.

Book II.

1547.

The Nation was in an ill Condition for a Divisions War with such a mighty Prince, labouring in *England* under great Distractions at Home: The People generally cried out for a Reformation, they despised the Clergy, and loved the new Preachers. The Priests were for the most Part both very ignorant and scandalous in their Lives: Many of them had been Monks, and those that were to pay them the Pensions that were reserved to them at the Destruction of the Monasteries, till they should be provided, took Care to get them into some small Benefice. The greatest Part of the Parsonages were

Book II.

1547.

were appropriated ; for they belonged to the Monasteries, and the Abbots had only granted the Incumbents either the Vicarage, or some small Donative, and left them the Perquisites raised by Masses and other Offices. At the Suppression of those Houses, there was no Care taken to provide the Incumbents better : So they chiefly subsisted by Trentals and other Devices, that brought them in some small Relief, tho' the Price of them was scandalously low ; for Masses went often at Two-Pence, a Groat was a great Bounty. Now these saw that a Reformation of those Abuses took the Bread out of their Mouths : So their Interests prevailing more with them than any thing else, they were zealously engaged against all Changes. But that same Principle made them comply with every Change that was made, rather than lose their Benefices. Their Poverty made them run into another Abuse, of holding more Benefices at the same Time ; a Corruption of so crying and scandalous a Nature, that wherever it is practised, it is sufficient to possess the People with great Prejudices against the Church that is guilty of it ; there being nothing more contrary to the plainest Impressions of Reason, than that every Man who undertakes a Cure of Souls, whom at his Ordination he has vowed that he would instruct, feed and govern, ought to discharge that Trust himself, which is the greatest and most important of all others. The Clergy were encouraged in their Opposition to all Changes, by the Protection they expected from *Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstall*, who were Men of great Reputation,

as

well as set in high Places : And above all, *Book II.*
Mary did openly declare against all
 changes, till the King should be of Age. 1547.

On the other Hand, *Cranmer*, whose
 greatest Weakness was his over Obsequious-
 ness to King *Henry*, being now at Liberty,
 resolved to proceed more vigorously : The
 Protector was firmly united to him ; so were
 the young King's Tutors, and he was as
 much engaged as could be expected from so
 young a Person : For both his Knowledge and
 zeal for true Religion were above his Age.
 Several of the Bishops did also declare for a
 Reformation, but *Dr. Ridley*, now made
 Bishop of *Rocheſter*, was the Person on
 whom he depended most. *Latimer* was kept
 at *Lambeth*, and did great Service
 by his Sermons, which were very popular ;
 so that he would not return to his Bishoprick,
 preferring rather to serve the Church in a more
 engaged Manner. Many of the Bishops
 were very ignorant, and poor-spirited Men,
 ruled meerly by Court-favour, who were
 little concerned for any thing but their Re-
 venues. *Cranmer* resolved to proceed by De-
 crees, and to open the Reasons of every Ad-
 vance that was made so fully, that he hoped,
 by the Blessing of God, to possess the Nation
 of the Fitness of what they should do, and
 thereby to prevent any dangerous Opposition
 that might otherwise be apprehended.

The Power of the Privy-Council had been
 much exalted in King *Henry's* Time, by Act
 of Parliament ; and one Proviso in it was,
 that the King's Council should have the
 same Authority when he was under Age,
 that he himself had at full Age : So it
 was

Book II. was resolved to begin with a general Visitation of all *England*, which was divided into six Precincts : And two Gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine, and a Regitler, were appointed for every one of these : But before they were sent out, there was a Letter written to all the Bishops, giving them Notice of it, suspending their Jurisdiction while it lasted, and requiring them to preach no where but in their Cathedrals, and that the other Clergy should not preach but in their own Churches, without Licence : By which it was intended to restrain such as were not acceptable to their own Parishes, and to grant the other Licences to preach in any Church of *England*. The greatest Difficulty that the Reformers found, was in the Want of able and prudent Men ; the most Zealous were too hot and indiscreet, and the few they had that were Eminent, were to be employed in *London*, and the Universities : Therefore they intended to make those as common as was possible, and appointed them to preach as Itinerants and Visitors. The only Thing by which the People could be universally instructed, was the Book of Homilies : So the Twelve first Homilies in the Book still known by that Name were compiled ; in framing which, the chief Design was to acquaint the People aright with the Nature of the Gospel-Covenant, in which there were two Extremes equally dangerous : The one was of those who thought the Priests had an infallible Secret of saving their Souls, if they would in all Things follow their Directions ; the other was of those who thought that if they magnified Christ much

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A Visitation of
all the
Churches.
May.

much, and depended on his Merits, they could not perish, which way soever they led their Lives. So the Mean between these was observed, and the People were taught both to depend on the Sufferings of Christ, and also to lead their Lives according to the Rules of the Gospel, without which they could receive no Benefit by his Death. Order was also given, that a Bible should be in every Church; which tho' it was commanded by King Henry, yet had not been generally obeyed: And for understanding the *New Testament*, *Erasmus's* Paraphrase was put out in *English*, and appointed to be set up in every Church. His great Reputation and Learning, and his dying in the Communion of the *Roman* Church, made this Book to be preferred to any other, since there lay no Prejudice to *Erasmus*; which would have been objected to any other Author. They renewed also all the Injunctions made by *Cromwel* in the former Reign, which after his Fall were but little looked after; as those for instructing the People, for removing Images, and putting down all other Customs abused to Superstition; for reading the Scriptures, and saying the Litany in *English*; for frequent Sermons and Catechising; for the exemplary Lives of the Clergy, and their Labours in visiting the Sick, and the other Parts of their Function, such as reconciling Differences, and exhorting their People to Charities: And all who gave Livings by Simoniackal Bargains, were declared to have forfeited their Right of Patronage to the King. A great Charge was also given for the strict Observation of

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the Lord's Day, which was appointed to be spent wholly in the Service of GOD; it not being enough to hear Mass, or Mattins in the Morning, and spend the rest of the Day in Drunkenness and Quarrelling, as was commonly practised; but it ought to be all employed, either in the Duties of Religion, or in Acts of Charity; only in Time of Harvest they were allowed to work on that and other Festival Days. Direction was also given for the bidding of Prayers, in which the King, as supreme Head, the Queen, and the King's Sisters, the Protector and Council, and all the Orders of the Kingdom were to be mentioned: They were also to pray for departed Souls, that at the last Day, *we with them might rest both Body and Soul.* There were also Injunctions given for the Bishops, that they should preach Four Times a Year in their Dioceses, once in their Cathedral, and thrice in any other Church, unless they had a good Excuse to the contrary: That their Chaplains should preach often: And that they should give Orders to none, but those that were duly qualified.

Censures
on the In-
junctions.

These were variously censured: The Clergy were only impowered to remove the abused Images, and the People were restrained from doing it; but this Authority being put in their Hands, it was thought they would be slow and backward in it. It had been happy for this Church, if all had agreed since that Time, to press the religious Observation of the Lord's Day, without starting needless Questions about the Morality of it, and the Obligation of the Fourth Commandment; which has occasioned much Dispute and Heat: And when

when one Party raised the Obligation of that Duty to a Pitch that was not practicable, it provoked others to slacken it too much. And this produced many sharp Reflections on both Sides, and has concluded in too common a Neglect of that Day, which instead of being so great a Bond and Instrument of Religion as it ought to be, is become generally a Day of Idleness and Looseness. The Corruptions of Lay-patrons and Simoniacal Priests have been often complained of, but no Laws nor Provisions have ever been able to preserve the Church from this great Mischief; which can never be removed till Patrons look on their Right to nominate one to the Charge of Souls, as a Trust for which they are to render a severe Account to God; and till Priests are cured of their aspiring to that Charge, and look on it with Dread and great Caution. The bidding of Prayers had been the Custom in Time of Popery; for the Preacher, after he had named his Text, and shewed what was to be the Method of his Sermon, desired the People to join with him in a Prayer for a Blessing upon it; and told them likewise, whom they were to pray for; and then all the People said their Beads in Silence, and he kneeling down, said his; and from that, this was called the Bidding of the Beads. In this new Direction for them, Order was given to repeat always the King's Title of *Supreme Head*, that so the People hearing it often mentioned, might grow better accustomed to it: But when instead of a bidding Prayer, an immediate one is come generally to be used, that Enumeration of Title seems not so decent a Thing, nor

Book II. is it now so necessary as it then was. The
 1547. Prayer for departed Souls was now moderated,
 to be a Prayer only for the Consummation of
 their Happiness at the last Day : Whereas in
 King *Henry's* Time, they prayed that God
 would grant them the Fruition of his Pre-
 sence, which implied a Purgatory. The In-
 junctions to the Bishops, directing them to
 give Orders with great Caution, pointed out
 that by which only a Church can be preserved
 from Errors and Corruptions : For when Bi-
 shops do easily, upon Recommendations, or
 emendicated Titles, confer Orders, as a Sort
 of Favour that is at their Disposal, the ill Ef-
 fects of that must be fatal to the Church, ei-
 ther by the Corruptions that those vicious
 Priests will be guilty of, or by the Scandals
 which are given to some good Minds by their
 Means, who are thereby disgusted at the
 Church for their Sakes, and so are disposed
 to be easily drawn into those Societies that
 separate from it.

The War
 with Scot-
 land.

The War with *Scotland* was now in Con-
 sultation ; but the Protector being apprehen-
 sive that *France* would engage in the Quarrel,
 sent over Sir *Francis Brian* to congratulate
 with the new King, to desire a Confirmation
 of the last Peace, and to complain of the
Scots, who had broken their Faith with the
 King, in the Matter of the Marriage of their
 Queen. The *French* King refused to confirm
 the Treaty, till some Articles should be first
 explained, and so he disowned his Father's
 Ambassador ; and for the *Scots*, he said, he
 could not forsake them, if they were in Dis-
 tress. The *English* alledged, that *Scotland*

was subject to *England* : But the *French* had no Regard to that, and would not so much as look on the Records that were offered to prove it ; and said they would take Things as they found them, and not look back to a Dispute of Two Hundred Years old. This made the *English* Council more fearful of engaging in a War, which, by all Appearance, would bring a War on them from *France*. The Castle of *St. Andrew's* was surrendered, and all their Pensioners in *Scotland* were not able to do them great Service. The *Scots* were now much lifted up, for as *England* was under an Infant King, so the Court of *France* was governed by their Queen Dowager's Brothers. The *Scots* began to make Inroads on *England*, and Descents on *Ireland*. Commissioners were sent to the Borders to treat on both Sides ; and the Protector raised a great Army, which he resolved to command in Person. But the Meeting on the Borders were soon broke up ; for the *Scots* had no Instructions to treat concerning the Marriage, and the *English* were ordered to treat of nothing else, till that should be first agreed to. And the Records that were shewed of the Homage done by the *Scottish* Kings to the *English*, had no great Effect ; for the *Scots* either said they were forged, or forced from some weak Princes, or were only Homages for their Lands in *England*, as the Kings of *England* did Homage to the Crown of *France* for their Lands there. They also shewed their Records, by which their Ancestors had asserted that they were free and independent of *England*. The Protector left Commissions of Lieutenancy to

Book II. ſome of the Nobility, and devolved his own Power, during his Abſence, on the Privy-Council, and came to the Borders by the End of *Auguſt*. The *Scots* had abandoned the Paſſes, ſo that he found no Difficulty in his March; and the ſmall Forts that were in his Way, were ſurrendered upon Summons. When the *Engliſh* advanced to *Faſſid*, the *Scots* engaged with them in Parties, but loſt *Thirteen Hundred Men*. The two Armies came in View: The *Engliſh* conſiſted of *Fifteen Thouſand Foot*, and *Three Thouſand Horſe*, and a Fleet under the Command of the Lord *Clinton* ſailed along by them, as they marched near the Coaſts; the *Scotiſh* Army conſiſted of *Thirty Thouſand*, and a good Train of Artillery.

The Protector ſent a Meſſage to the *Scots*, inviting them, by all the Arguments that could be invented, to conſent to the Marriage; and if that would not be granted, he deſired Engagements from them, that their Queen ſhould be contracted to no other Perſon, at leaſt till ſhe came of Age, and by the Advice of the Eſtates ſhould chooſe a Husband for her ſelf. This the Protector offered, to get out of the War upon honourable Terms; but the *Scotiſh* Lords thought this great Condeſcenſion was an Effect of Fear, and believed the Protector was ſtraitned for Want of Proviſions; ſo inſtead of publiſhing this Offer, they reſolved to fall upon him next Day: And ſo all the Return that was made, was, That if the Protector would march back without any Act of Hoſtility, they would not fall upon him. One went officiouſly with the Trumpeter, and

and challenged the Protector, in the Earl of *Huntley's* Name, to decide the Matter by their Valour; but the Protector said he was to fight no way, but at the Head of his Army: Yet the Earl of *Warwick* accepted the Challenge, but *Huntley* had given no Order for it. On the Tenth of *September*, the Armies engaged: In the Beginning of the Action, a Shot from the Ships killed a whole Lane of Men, and disordered the Highlanders, so that they could not be made to keep their Ranks. The Earl of *Angus* charged bravely, but was repulsed, and the *English* broke in with such Fury on the *Scots*, that they threw down their Arms, and fled. *Fourteen Thousand* were killed, *Fifteen Hundred* taken Prisoners, among whom was the Earl of *Huntley*, and Five Hundred Gentlemen. Upon this, the Protector went on and took *Leith*, and some Islands in the *Frith*, in which he put Garrisons, and left Ships to wait upon them: He sent some Ships to the Mouth of *Tay*, and took a Castle (*Broughty*) that commanded that River. If he had followed this Blow, and gone forward to *Striveling*, to which the Governor, with the small Remainders of his Army, had retired, and where the Queen was, it is probable, in the Consternation in which they were, he might have taken that Place, and so have made an End of the War. But the Party his Brother was making at Court gave him such an Alarm, that he returned before he had ended his Business: And the *Scots* having sent a Message desiring a Treaty, which they did only to gain Time, he ordered them to send their Commissioner to *Berwick*, and

The Bar-
tel of Mus-
selburgh.

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so marched back. He took in all the Castles in *Merch* and *Teviotdale*, and left Garrisons in them, and made the Gentry swear to be true to the King, and to promote the Marriage. He entred into *Scotch* Ground the Second of *September*, and returned to *England* on the Twenty Ninth, with the Loss only of Sixty Men, and brought with him a great deal of Artillery, and many Prisoners. This Success did raise his Reputation very high ; and if he had now made an End of the War, it had, no Doubt, established him in his Authority. The *Sects* sent no Commissioners to *Berwick* ; but instead of that they sent some to *France*, to offer their Queen to the Dauphin, and to cast themselves on the Protection of that Crown ; and so the Earl of *Warwick*, whom the Protector left to treat with them, returned back. The Protector, upon this great Success, summoned a Parliament, to get himself established in his Power.

The Success of the Visitation.

The Visitors had now ended the Visitation, and all had submitted to them ; and great Inferences were made from this, that on the same Day on which the Images were burn'd in *London*, their Army obtained that great Victory in *Scotland*. But all Sides are apt to build much on Providence, when it is favourable to them ; and yet they will not allow the Argument when it turns against them. *Bonner* at first protested that he would obey the Injunctions, if they were not contrary to the Laws of God, and the Ordinances of the Church ; but being called before the Council, he retracted that, and asked Pardon : Yet, for giving Terror to others, he was for some Time put

in

in Prison about it. *Gardiner* wrote to one of the Visitors before they came to *Winchester*, that he could not receive the Homilies; and if he must either quit his Bishoprick, or sin against his Conscience, he resolved to choose the former. Upon this, he was called before the Council, and required to receive the Book of Homilies; but he excepted to one of them, that taught that Charity did not justify, contrary to the Book set out by the late King, confirmed in Parliament. He also complained of many Things in *Erasmus's* Paraphrase: And being pressed to declare whether he would obey the Injunctions or not, he refused to promise it, and so was sent to the Fleet. *Cranmer* treated in private with him, and they argued much about Justification. *Gardiner* thought the Sacraments justified, and that Charity justified as well as Faith. *Cranmer* thought that only the Merits of Christ justified, as they were applied by Faith, which could not be without Charity: So the Question turned much on a different Way of explaining the same Thing. *Gardiner* objected many Things to *Erasmus's* Book, particularly to some Passages contrary to the Power of Princes. It was answered, That Book was not chosen, as having no Faults, but as the best they knew for clearing the Difficulties in Scripture. *Cranmer* offered to him, that if he would concur with them, he should be brought to be one of the Privy-council: But he did not comply in this so readily, as he ordinarily did to such Offers. Upon the Protector's Return, he wrote to him, complaining of the Council's Proceedings in his Absence: And

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Book II. after he had given his Objections to the Injunctions, he excepted to this, that they were contrary to Law, and argued from many Precedents, that the King's Authority could not be raised so high; and that though *Cromwell*, and others, endeavoured to persuade the late King, that he might govern as the *Roman* Emperors did, and that his Will ought to be his Law, yet he was of another Opinion, and thought it was much better to make the Law the King's Will. He complained also, that he was hardly used; that he had neither Servants, Physicians, nor Chaplains allowed to wait on him; and that tho' he had a Writ of Summons, he was not suffered to come to the Parliament; which, he said, might bring a Nullity on all their Proceedings. But he lay in Prison till the Act of General Pardon, passed in Parliament, set him at Liberty. Many blamed the Severity of those Proceedings, as contrary to both Law and Equity; and said, That all People, even those who complained most of Arbitrary Power, were apt to usurp it when they were in Authority: And some thought the delivering the Doctrine of Justification, in such nice Terms, was not suitable to the plain Simplicity of the Christian Religion. Lady *Mary* was so alarmed at these Proceedings, that she wrote to the Protector, That such Changes were contrary to the Honour due to her Father's Memory; and it was against their Duty to the King, to enter upon such Points, and endanger the publick Peace before he was of Age. To which he wrote an Answer, That her Father had died before he could finish the good Things he had intended

concerning Religion; and had expressed his Regret both before himself and many others, that he left Things in so unsettled a State; and assured her, that nothing should be done but what would turn to the Glory of God, and the King's Honour. He imputed her Writing to the Importunity of others, rather than to her self; and desired her to consider the Matter better, with an humble Spirit, and the Assistance of the Grace of God.

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The Parliament was opened the fourth of *November*; and the Protector was by Patent authorized to sit under the Cloth of State, on the Right Hand of the Throne; and to have all the Honours and Privileges that any Uncle of the Crown, either by Father or Mother's Side, ever had. *Rich* was made Lord Chancellor. The first Act that pass'd, (Five Bishops only dissenting) was, "A Repeal of all Statutes that had made any thing Treason or Felony in the late Reign, which was not so before, and of the Six Articles, and the Authority given to the King's Proclamations, as also of the Acts against *Lollards*. All who denied the King's Supremacy, or asserted the Pope's, for the first Offence were to forfeit their Goods, for the second, were to be in a *Præmunire*, and were to be attainted of Treason for the Third. But if any intended to deprive the King of his Estate, or Title, that was made Treason: None were to be accused of Words but within a Month after they were spoken. They also repealed the Power that the King had of annulling all Laws made till he was twenty four Years of Age, and

meets.

An Act of Repeal.

"restrain-

Book II. "restrained it only to an annulling them for
 "the Time to come; but that it should not
 1547. "be of Force for the declaring them null
 "from the Beginning.

An Act
 about the
 Sacra-
 ment.

Another Act pass'd with the same Dissent for the Communion in both Kinds, and that the People should always communicate with the Priest, and by it, Irreverence to the Sacrament was condemned under severe Penalties. Christ had instituted the Sacrament in both Kinds, and St. *Paul* mentions both. In the Primitive Church, that Custom was universally observed, but upon the Belief of Transubstantiation, the reserving and carrying about the Sacrament were brought in. This made them first endeavour to perswade the World, that the Cup was not necessary; for Wine could neither keep, nor be carried about conveniently; but it was done by Degrees; the Bread was for some Time given dip'd, as it is yet in the *Greek Church*: But it being believed that Christ was entirely under either Kind, and in every Crumb, the Council of *Constance* took the Cup from the Laity; yet the *Bokemians* could not be brought to submit to it; so every where the Use of the Cup was one of the first Things that was insisted on by those who demanded a Reformation. At first, all that were present did communicate, and Censures passed on such as did it not: And none were denied the Sacrament but Penitents, who were made to withdraw during the Action. But as the Devotion of the World slackned, the People were still exhorted to continue their Oblations, and come to the Sacrament, though they did not receive it,

it, and were made to believe, that the Priests Book II. received it in their Stead. The Name *Sacrifice* given to it, as being a Holy Oblation, was so far improved, that the World came to look on the Priests officiating, as a Sacrifice for the Dead and Living. From hence followed an infinite Variety of Masses for all the Accidents of Human Life; and that was the chief Part of the Priests Trade; but it occasioned many unseemly Jest's concerning it, which were restrained by the same Act that put these down.

Another Act pass'd without any Dissent, An Act "That the *Conge d' Elire*, and the Election concern-
" pursuant to it, being but a Shadow, (since ing the
" the Person was named by the King) should Nomina-
" cease for the Future, and that Bishops tion of
" should be named by the King's Letters Pa- Bishops.
" tents, and thereupon be consecrated, and
" should hold their Courts in the King's
" Name, and not in their own, excepting
" only the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury's* Court:
" And they were to use the King's Seal in
" all their Writings, except in Presentations,
" Collations, and Letters of Orders, in which
" they might use their own Seals". The
Apostles chose Bishops and Pastors by an extraordinary Gift of discerning Spirits, and proposed them to the Approbation of the People; yet they left no Rules to make that necessary: In the Times of Persecution, the Clergy being maintained by the Oblations of the People, they were chosen by them. But when the Emperors became Christians, the Town-councils and eminent Men took the Elections out of the Hands of the Rabble:
And

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And the Tumults in popular Elections were such, that it was necessary to regulate them. In some Places the Clergy, and in others the Bishops of the Province made the Choice. The Emperors reserved the Confirmation of the Elections in the great Sees to themselves. But when *Charles* the Great annexed great Territories and Regalities to Bishopricks, a great Change followed thereupon: Churchmen were corrupted by this undue Greatness, and came to depend on the Humours of those Princes to whom they owed this great Encrease of their Wealth. Princes named them, and invested them in their Sees: But the Popes intended to separate the Ecclesiastical State from all Subjection to secular Princes, and to make themselves the Heads of that State; at first they pretended to restore the Freedom of Elections; but these were now ingrossed in a few Hands, for only the Chapters chose: The Popes had granted Thirty Years before this to the King of *France*, the Nomination to all the Bishopricks in that Kingdom; so the King of *England's* assuming it was no new Thing; and the Way of Elections, as King *Henry* had settled it, seemed to be but a Mockery: So this Change was not much condemned. The Ecclesiastical Courts were the Concessions of Princes, in which, Trials concerning Marriages, Wills and Tithes, depended; so the holding those Courts in the King's Name, was no Invasion of the spiritual Function; since all that concerned Orders, was to be done still in the Bishop's Name, only Excommunication was still left as the Censure of those Courts; which being a spiritual

Spiritual Censure, ought to have been reserved to the Bishop, to be proceeded in by him only with the Assistance of his Clergy : And this fatal Error then committed, has not yet met with an effectual Regulation.

Another Act was made against idle Vagabonds, that they should be made Slaves forgainst Vagabonds. two Years, by any that should seize on them : gabonds.

This was chiefly designed against some vagrant Monks, as appears by the Proviso's in the Act ; for they went about the Country, insinuating in the People a Dislike of the Government. The Severity of this Act made that the *English* Nation which naturally abhors Slavery, did not care to execute it ; and this made that the other Proviso's, for supplying those that were truly indigent, and were willing to be employed, had no Effect. But as no Nation has better, and more merciful Laws for the Supply of the Poor, so the fond Pity that many shew to the common Beggars, which no Laws have been able to restrain, makes, that a Sort of dissolute and idle Beggars intercept much of that Charity which should go to the Relief of those that are indeed the only proper Objects of it. After this, came the Act for giving the King all those Chantries, which the late King had not seized on by Virtue of the Grant made to him of them. *Cranmer* opposed this much : For the Poverty of the Clergy was such, that the State of Learning and Religion was like to suffer much, if it should not be relieved : And yet he saw no probable Fund for that, but the preserving these, till the King should come to be at Age, and allow the selling

An Act for dissolving the Chantries.

Book II. ing them, for buying in of at least such a
 ~~~~~ Share of the Improvements, as might afford  
 1547. some more comfortable Subsistence to the  
 Clergy: Yet though he, and seven other  
 Bishops dissented, it was pass'd: After all o-  
 ther Acts, a General Pardon, but clogged with  
 some Exceptions, came last. Some Acts were  
 propos'd, but not pass'd: One was for the free  
 Use of the Scriptures, others were for a Court  
 of Chancery in Ecclesiastical Causes, for  
 Residence, and for a Reformation of the  
 Courts of Common-Law. The Convocation  
 sat at the same Time, and moved, that a  
 Commission began in the late Reign of Thirty  
 two Persons for reforming the Ecclesiastical  
 Laws, might be revived, and that the inferior  
 Clergy might be admitted to sit in the House  
 of Commons; for which they alledged a  
 Clause in the Bishops Writ, and antient  
 Custom. And since some Prelates had, under  
 the former Reign, began to alter the Form  
 of the Service of the Church, they desired  
 it might be brought to Perfection; and that  
 some Care might be had of supplying the poor  
 Clergy, and relieving them from the Taxes  
 that lay on them. This concerning the in-  
 ferior Clergy's sitting in the House of Com-  
 mons, was the Subject of some Debate; and  
 was again set on Foot, both under Queen  
*Elizabeth* and King *James*, but to no Effect.  
 Some pretended that they always sat in the  
 House of Commons, till the Submission made  
 in the former Reign, upon the Suit of the  
*Premunire*: But that cannot be true, since in  
 this Convocation, 17 Years after that, in  
 which many that had been in the former were  
 present,

The Con-  
 vocation  
 sits.

present, no such Thing was alledged. It is  
 not clear who those Proctors of the Clergy  
 that sat in Parliament, were: If they were  
 the Bishops Assistants, it is more proper to  
 think they sat in the House of Lords. No  
 mention is made of them as having a Share  
 in the Legislative Authority, in our Records,  
 except in the 21 of *Richard* the II. In which  
 mention is made, both of the Commons, the  
 Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Pro-  
 ctors of the Clergy concurring to the Acts  
 then made: Which makes it seem most pro-  
 bable that they were the Clerks of the Lower-  
 house of Convocation. When the Parlia-  
 ment met antiently all in one Body, the in-  
 ferior Clergy had their Writs, and came to  
 with the other Freeholders; but when the  
 two Houses were separated, the Clergy be-  
 came also a distinct Body, and gave their  
 own Subsidies, and meddled in all the Con-  
 cerns, and represented all the Grievances of  
 the Church. But now by the Act made up-  
 on the Submission of the Clergy in the last  
 Reign, their Power was reduced almost to  
 nothing: So they thought it reasonable to  
 desire, that either they might have their Re-  
 presentatives in the House of Commons, or  
 at least, that Matters of Religion should not  
 pass without the Assent of the Clergy. But  
 the raising the Ecclesiastical Authority too  
 high in former Times, made this Turn,  
 that it was now depressed as much below its  
 just Limits, as it was before exalted above  
 them: As commonly one Extreme produces  
 another.

It was resolved, that some Bishops and  
 Divines



Book II. Divines should be sent to *Windsor*, to finish some Reformatations in the publick Offices for the whole Lower-house of Convocation without a contradictory Vote, agreed to the Bill about the Sacrament. But it is not known what Opposition it met with in the Upper-house. A Proposition being also set on Foot concerning the Lawfulness of the Marriage of the Clergy, Thirty five subscribed to the Affirmative, and only Fourteen held the Negative.

And thus ended this Session, both of Parliament and Convocation. And the Protector being now established in his Power and received by a Parliament, without Contradiction, took out a new Commission, in which, besides his former Authority, he was empowered to substitute one in his Room during his Absence.

The Affairs in Germany.

In *Germany* the Princes of the *Smalcaldian* League were quite ruined ; the Duke of *Saxony* was defeated, and taken Prisoner, and used with great Severity and Scorn, which he bore with an invincible Greatness of Mind. The *Landgrave* was perswaded to submit, and had Assurances of Liberty given him ; but by a Trick unbecoming the Greatness of the Emperor, he was seized on and kept Prisoner contrary to Faith given : Upon this, all the Princes and Towns, except *Magdeburg* and *Breme*, submitted and purchased their Pardon, at what Terms the Conqueror was pleased to impose. The Bishop and Elector of *Colen* withdrew peaceably to a Retirement, in which, after four Years, he died : And now all *Germany* was at the Emperor's Mercy.

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the Cathedrals, as that at *Ausburg*, were restored to the Bishops, and Mass was in them. A Diet was also held, in which the Emperor obtained a Decree to, by which Matters of Religion were referred wholly to his Care. The Pope, instead of rejoicing at this Blow given the *Lutherans*, was much troubled at it: For the Emperor had now in one Year made an end of a War, which he hoped would have spoiled him his whole Life; so that *Italy* was now more at his Mercy than ever: And seemed the Emperor intended to enlarge his conquests there; for the Pope's Natural Son was killed by a Conspiracy, the Governor of *Milan* seized on *Placentia*, which gave the Pope some Jealousy, as if the Emperor had been privy to the Design against his Son. The Emperor's Ambassadors were also very easy to the Legates at *Trent*, and press'd a reformation of Abuses, and endeavoured to restrain them from proceeding in Points of Doctrine: So they took hold of the first pretence they had by the Death of one that seemed to have some Symptoms of the Plague, and removed it to *Bologna*. By this all the advantages the Emperor had from the Protestants which the Protestants made, to submit to a free General Council assembled in *Germany*, were defeated: And it was thought a strange Turn of divine Providence, that when the Extirpation of *Lutheranism* was so near being effected, a Stop was put to it by that, which of all Things was least to be apprehended: Since it might have been expected, that the perfecting such a Design would

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would have made the Pope and the Emperor Friends, though there had been ever so many other Grounds of Difference between them. So unusual a Thing made the Favourers of the Reformation ascribe it to the immediate Care that Heaven had of that Work now when all the Human Supports of it were gone. Upon this fatal Revolution of Affairs there, many *Germans* and *Italians* that had retired to *Germany*, came over to *England*. *Peter Martyr* and *Bernardinus Ockinus* came over first, *Bucer* and *Fagius* followed. They were invited over by *Cranmer*, who entertained them at *Lambeth*, till they were provided. *P. Martyr* was sent to *Oxford*, and *Bucer* and *Fagius* to *Cambridge*; but the latter died soon after. There were some Differences between the *French* and *English* concerning some new Forts, which were made about *Bulloign* on both Sides; yet a Truce was agreed on; for the Protector had no Mind to engage in a War with *France*.

Differences between the Protector and the Admiral.

He had a new Trouble raised up in his own Family by the Ambition of his Brother, who thought the being the King's Uncle, as well as his Brother was, he ought to have a larger Share of the Government. He had made Addresses to the Lady *Elizabeth*, the King's Sister, but finding no Hopes of Success he made Applications to the Queen Dowager who married him a little undecently; for she was afterwards objected to him, that he married her so soon after the King's Death, than if she had conceived with Child immediately after the Marriage, it might have been doubtful whether it was by the late King,

: Yet the Marriage was for some Time  
 cealed, and the Admiral moved the King  
 his Sisters to write to the Queen, to  
 ept him for her Husband: The King's  
 ers excused themselves, that it was not  
 ent for them to interpose in such a Matter;  
 the young King was more easy: So upon  
 Letter, the Queen published her Marriage.  
 e Admiral being now possessed of much  
 alth, and the King coming often to the  
 een's Lodgings, he endeavoured to gain  
 n, and all that were about him, and fur-  
 ed the King often with Money. His De-  
 was, that whereas in former Times,  
 en Infant-Kings had two Uncles, one was  
 vernor of his Person, and another was  
 ector of the Realm; so now these two  
 sts might be divided, and that he might  
 made Governor of the King's Person.  
 is is the true Account of the Breach be-  
 en those Brothers; for the Story of the  
 arrel between their Wives about Prece-  
 ce, seems to be an ill-grounded Fiction:  
 there was no Pretence of a Competition  
 ween the Queen Dowager and the Dutch-  
 of *Somerset*, but the latter being a high  
 man, might have perhaps enflamed her  
 sband's Resentments, over whom she had  
 absolute Power, which gave the Rise to  
 t Story. The Protector was at first very  
 to be reconciled to his Brother; but after  
 many Provocations he received from him,  
 threw off Nature too much. When he  
 in *Scotland*, the Admiral began to take  
 vantage upon that to make a Party: And  
 good Advices that were given him by

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*Paget*, to look on those as the common Enemies of their Family, who were making the Breach between them, had no Effect to change a Mind hurried on by Ambition. It was an Advertisement that was sent him of the death that made the Protector leave *Scotland* before he had finished his Business there. During the Session of Parliament, the Admiral prevailed with the King to write with his own Hand a Message to the House of Commons to make him the Governor of his Person. When the Admiral was making Friends in order to this, it came to his Brother's Ear before he had made any publick Use of it. So he employed some to divert him from it, but with no Success. Upon that, he was forced to appear before the Council, but he refused to come; yet they having threatened to turn him out of all his Places, and to send him to the *Tower*, he submitted, and his Brothers were reconciled: But the Admiral continued his secret Practices still with the King about the King.

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*Gardiner* being included in the Act of Parliament, was set at Liberty: He promised to receive and obey the Injunctions, only he excepted to the Homily of Justification; yet he complied in that likewise: But it was visible that in his Heart he abhorred all their Proceedings, though he outwardly conformed. The Second Marriage of the Marquis of *Northampton* was tried at this Time; for his first Wife being convict of Adultery, he and she were separated. And he moved in the End of the former Reign, that he might be suffered to marry again; so a Commission was

En granted, and was renewed in this Reign, some Delegates, to examine what Relief might be given to the innocent Person in such a Case. But this being new, and *Cran-* proceeding in it with his usual Exactness, which is often accompanied with Slowness, the Marquis became impatient, and married a second Wife. Upon this, the Council ordered them to be parted, till the Delegates should give Sentence. The Arguments for the second Marriage were these; Christ had condemned Divorces for other Cases, but excepted that of Adultery. A Separation from Bed and Board, and the Marriage-bond standing, was contrary to many Places of Scripture, that mention the End of Marriage. *Paul* discharges the married Person, if the other wilfully deserted him; much more will follow in the Case of Adultery. And though *St. Paul* says, the Wife is tied to her Husband as long as he liveth, that is only to be understood of a Husband that continued to be one; but that Relation ceased by Adultery. The Fathers differed in their Opinions in this matter, some allowed Marriage upon Divorce to the Husband, but denied it to the Wife; others allowed it to both. So *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius* and *Basil*; *Jerome* also justified *Abiola*, that had done it. *Chrysostom* and *Augustinus* allowed a second Marriage. *St. Justin* was doubtful about it. The *Roman* Emperors allowed, by their Laws, even after they became Christians, Divorce, and a second Marriage, both to Husbands and Wives, upon many other Reasons besides Adultery; for procuring Abortions, treating for another

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ther Marriage, being guilty of Treason, or a Wife's going to Plays without her Husband's Leave. Nor did the Fathers in those Times complain of those Laws. This was also allowed by the Canons upon several Occasions; but after the State of Celibate came to be magnified out of Measure, second Marriages were more generally condemned: And this was heightened, when Marriage was looked on as a Sacrament. Yet though no Divorces were allowed in the Church, the Canonists found out many Shifts for annulling Marriages from the Beginning, to those that could pass well for them. All these Things being considered, the Delegates gave Sentence, confirming the second Marriage, and dissolving the first.

Some Ceremonies abrogated.

*Candlemas* and *Lent* were now approaching; so the Clergy and People were much divided with relation to the Ceremonies usual at those Times. By some Injunctions in King *Henry's* Reign it had been declared, that Fasting in *Lent* was only binding by a positive Law. Wakes and Plough-Moon Days were also suppressed, and Hints were given that other Customs, which were much abused, should be shortly put down. The gross Rabble loved these Things, as Matters of Diversion, and thought divine Worship without them would be but a dull Business. But others look'd on these as Relicks of Heathenism, since the *Gentiles* worshipped their Gods with such Festivities, and thought they did not become the Gravity and Simplicity of the Christian Religion. *Cranmer* upon this procured an Order of Council against the carrying

ing of Candles on *Candlemas*-day, of Ashes Book II.  
on *Ash-wednesday*, and Palms on *Palm-*  
*sunday*; which was directed to *Bonner* to be

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intimated to the Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, and was executed by him. But a Proclamation followed against all that should make Changes without Authority. The creeping to the Cross, and taking holy Bread and Water were by it put down, and Power was given to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to certify in the King's Name, what Ceremonies should be afterwards laid aside; and none were to preach out of their own Parishes without Licence from the King, or the Visitors, the Archbishop, or the Bishop of the Diocese. Some questioned the Council's Power to make such Orders, the Act that gave Authority to their Proclamations being repealed: But it was said, the King's Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Matters might well justify their making such Rules. Soon Feb. 8.  
after this, a general Order followed for a Removal of all Images out of Churches: There were every where great Contests whether the Images had been abused to Superstition or not. Some thought the Consecration of them was an Abuse common to them all. Those also that represented the Trinity, as a Man with three Faces in one Head, or as an old Man with a young Man before him, and a Dove over his Head; and somewhere the blessed Virgin was represented as assumed into it; gave so great Scandal, that it was no Wonder, if Men, as they grew to be better enlightened, could no longer endure them. The only Occasion given to censure in this  
Vol. II. C Order,



Book II. Order, was, that all Shrines, and the Plate belonging to them, were appointed to be brought in to the King's Use. A Letter was at that Time wrote to all Preachers, requiring them to exhort the People to amend their Lives, and forsake Superstition; but for Things not yet changed, to bear with them, and not to run before those whom they should obey. Some hot Men condemned this Temper, as favouring too much of carnal Policy: But it was said, that though the Apostles, by the Gift of Miracles, had sufficient Means to convince the World of their Authority, yet they did not all at once change the Customs of the *Mosaical* Law, but proceeded by Degrees; and Christ forbid the pulling up the Tares, lest good Wheat should be pulled up with them: So it was fit to wean People by Degrees from their former Superstitions, and not to run too fast.

A new  
Office for  
Communion.

Eighteen Bishops, and some Divines were now employed to examine the Offices of the Church, to see which of them needed Amendment. They began with the Eucharist. They proceeded in the same Manner that was used in the former Reign. For every one gave in his Opinion in Writing, in Answer to the Questions that were put to them. Some of these are still preserved; which were concerning the Priests sole communicating, and Masses satisfactory for the Dead; the Mass in an unknown Tongue, the hanging up and exposing it, and the Sacrifice that was made in it. In most of those Papers, appears that the greatest Part of the Bishops were still leavened with the old Superstitions.

at least to some Degree. It was clearly found that the plain Institution of the Sacrament was much vitiated with a Mixture of many Heathenish Rites and Pomps, on Design to raise the Credit of the Priests, in whose Hands that great Performance was lodged. This was at first done to draw over the Heathens by those splendid Rites to Christianity; but Superstition once begun, has no Bounds nor Measures; and Ignorance and Barbarity increasing in the darker Ages, there was no Regard had to any thing of Religion, but as it was set off with much Pageantry; and the Belief of the corporal Presence raised this to a great Height. The Office was in an unknown Tongue; all the Vessels and Garments belonging to it, were consecrated with much Devotion; a great Part of the Service was secret, to make it look like a wonderful Charm; the Consecration it self was to be said very softly; for Words that were not to be heard, agreed best with a Change that was not to be seen: The many Gesticulations, and the magnificent Processions, all tended to raise this Pageantry higher. Masses were also said for all the Turns and Affairs of human Life. Trentals, a Custom of having thirty Masses a Year on the chief Festivities for redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, was that which brought the Priests most Money; for these were thought God's best Days, in which Access was easier to him. On Saints Days, in the Mass it was prayed, That by the Saints Intercession, the Sacrifice might become the more acceptable, and procure a larger Indulgence; which could not be easily explained,

Book II. explained, if the Sacrifice was the Death of  
 1548. Christ; besides a numberless Variety of other  
 Rites: For many of the Relicks of Heathen-  
 ism were made Use of for the corrupting of  
 the holiest Institution of the Christian Reli-  
 gion. The first Step that was now made,  
 was a new Office for the Communion, that  
 is, the Distribution of the Sacrament; for  
 the Office of Consecration was not at this  
 Time touched. It differs very little from  
 what is still used. In the Exhortation, Audi-  
 ticular Confession to a Priest is left free to be  
 done, or omitted, and all were required not  
 to judge one another in that Matter. There  
 was also a Denuntiation made, requiring  
 impenitent Sinners to withdraw. The Bread  
 was to be still of the same Form that had  
 been formerly used. In the Distribution it  
 was said, *The Body of our Lord, &c. pre-*  
*serve thy Body;* and *The Blood of our Lord,*  
*&c. preserve thy Soul.* This was printed with  
 a Proclamation, requiring all to receive it  
 with such Reverence and Uniformity, as  
 might encourage the King to proceed further,  
 and not to run to other Things before the  
 King gave Directions, assuring the People  
 of his earnest Zeal to set forth godly Orders;  
 and therefore it was hoped they would tarry  
 for it: The Books were sent over *England*  
 and the Clergy were appointed to give the  
 Communion next Easter according to them.

Auricular  
 Confessi-  
 on exa-  
 mined.

Many were much offended to find Con-  
 fession left indifferent; so this Matter was  
 examined. Christ gave his Apostles a Pow-  
 er of binding and loosing, and St. James  
 com-

commanded all to confess their Faults to one another. In the Primitive Church all that denied the Faith, or otherwise gave Scandal, were separated from the Communion, and not admitted to it till they made publick Confession : And according to the Degrees of their Sins, the Times and Degrees of publick Penitence, and their Separation, were proportioned ; which was the chief Subject of the Consultations of the Councils in the fourth and fifth Centuries. For secret Sins, the People lay under no Obligation to confess, but they went often to the Priests for Direction even for these. Near the End of the fifth Century they began to have secret Penances and Confessions, as well as publick : But in the seventh Century this became the general Practice. In the eighth Century the Commutation of Penance for Money, or other Services done the Church, was brought in. Then the Holy Wars and Pilgrimages came to be magnified : Croisadoes against Hereticks, or Princes deposed by the Pope, were set up instead of all other Penances. Priests also managed Confession and Absolution, so as to enter into all Mens Secrets, and to govern their Consciences by them ; but they becoming very ignorant, and not so associated as to be governed by Orders that might be sent them from *Rome*, the Friars were every where employed to hear Confessions ; and many reserved Cases were made in which the Pope only gave Absolution : These were trusted to them, and they had the Trade of Indulgences put into their Hands ;



Book II. which they managed with as much Confidence as Mountebanks used in selling their Medicines; with this Advantage, that the Ineffectualness of their Devices was not so easily discovered, for the People believed all that the Priests told them. In this they grew to such a Pitch of Confidence, that for saying some Collects, Indulgences for Years, and for Hundreds, Thousands, yea, a Million of Years, were granted; so cheap a Thing was Heaven made. This Trade was now thrown out of the Church, and private Confessions was declared indifferent: But it was much censured, that no Rules for publick Penance were set up at this Time, but what were corrupted by the Canonists. The People did not think a Declaration Absolution sufficient, and thought it surer Work, when a Priest said, *I absolve thee*, though that was but a late Invention. Others censured the Words of Distribution, by which the Bread was appropriated to the Body, and the Cup to the Soul: And this was soon after amended; only some Words relating to it are still in the Collect, *We do not presume*.

*Gardiner*  
is imprisoned.

The Affairs of State took up the Council as much as the Matters of Religion employed the Bishops; the War with *Scotland* grew chargeable, and was supported from *France*; but the Sale of the Chantry Lands brought the Council in some Money. *Gardiner* was brought into new Trouble; many Complaints were made of him, that he disparaged the

the Preachers sent with the King's License into his Diocese, and that he secretly opposed all Reformation. So being brought before the Council, he denied most of the Things objected to him, and offered to explain himself openly in a Sermon before the King. The Protector press'd him not to meddle in Matters not yet determined, particularly the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and to assert the King's Power, though he was under Age, and the Authority of the Council. For the Clergy began generally to say, that though they acknowledged the King's Supremacy, yet they would not yield it to the Council; and seemed to place it in some extraordinary Grace conferred on the King, by the anointing in the Coronation. So the Protector desired *Gardiner* to declare himself in those Points; but when he came to preach on St. *Peter's* Day, he inveighed against the Pope's Supremacy, and asserted the King's; but said nothing of the Council, nor the King's Power under Age: He also justified the Suppression of Monasteries and Chantries, and the putting down Masses satisfactory, as also the removing of Images, the Sacrament in both Kinds, and the new Order for the Communion; but did largely assert the corporal Presence in the Sacrament: Upon which, there was a Noise raised by hot Men of both Sides, during the Sermon; and this was said to be a stirring of Sedition, and upon that he was sent to the *Tower*. This Way of proceeding was thought contrary both to Law and Justice; and as all violent Courses

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do, this rather weakened than strengthened those that were most concerned in it. *Cranmer* did at this Time set out a large Catechism, which he dedicated to the King. He insisted much on shewing that Idolatry had been committed in the Use of Images: He asserted the divine Institution of Bishops and Priests, and their Authority of absolving Sinners; and expressed great Zeal for the setting up penitentiary Canons, and exhorted the People to discover the State of their Souls to their Pastors. From this it appears, that he had changed the Opinion he formerly held, against the divine Institution of Ecclesiastical Offices.

A new Liturgy composed.

But now a more general Reformation of the whole Liturgy was under Consideration, that all the Nation might have an Uniformity in the Worship of God; and be no more cantoned to the several Uses of *Sarum*, *York*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, and *Bangor*. Antiently the Liturgies were short, and had few Ceremonies in them: Every Bishop had one for his own Diocese. But in the *African* Churches, they began first to put them into a more regular Form. *Gregory* the Great laboured much in this; yet he left *Austin* the Monk to his Liberty, either to use the *Roman*, or *French* Forms in *England*, as he found they were like to tend most to Edification. Great Additions were made in every Age; for the private Devotions of some that were reputed Saints, were added to the publick Offices: and mysterious Significations were invented for every new Rite; which was the chief Study

Study of some Ages: and all was swelled up to a vast Bulk. It was not then thought on, that praying by the Spirit consisted in the inventing new Words, and uttering them with Warmth; and it seemed too great a Subjection of the People to their Priests, that they should make them joyn with them in all their Heats in Prayer; and would have proved as great a Resignation of their Devotion to them, as the former Superstition had made of their Faith. It was then resolved to have a Liturgy, and to bring the Worship to a fit Mean, between the Pomp of Superstition, and naked Flatness: They resolved to change Nothing, meerly in Opposition to received Practices; but rather, in Imitation of what Christ did, in the Institution of the two Sacraments of the Gospel, that did consist of Rites used among the *Jews*, but blessed by him to higher Purposes, to comply with what had been formerly in Use, as much as was possible, thereby to gain the People. All the Consecrations of Water, Salt, &c. in the Church of *Rome*, look'd like the Remainders of Heathenism, and were laid aside. By these, Devils being abjured, and a divine Virtue supposed to be in them, the People came to think, that by such Observances they might be sure of Heaven. The Absolution, by which, upon the Account of the Merits of the blessed Virgin, and the Saints, the sprinkling of Water, Fastings and Pilgrimages, with many other Things, Sins were pardoned, as well as on the Account of the Passion of Christ, and the Absolution given to dead Bodies, look'd like



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gross Impostures, tending to make the World think, that besides the painful Way to Heaven, in a Course of true Holiness, the Priests had Secrets in their Hands, of carrying People thither in another Method, and on easier Terms; and this drew in the People to purchase their Favour, especially when they were dying: So that, as their Fears were then heightened, there was no other Way left them, in the Conulsion of an ill Life, to die with any good Hopes, but as they bargained for them with their Priests; therefore all this was now cast out. It was resolved to have the whole Worship in the vulgar Tongue; upon which St. *Paul* has copiously enlarged himself; and all Nations, as they were converted to Christianity, had their Offices in their Vulgar Tongue; but of late, it had been pretended, that it was a Part of the Communion of Saints, that the Worship should be every where in the same Language; though the People were hardly used, when for the Sake of some vagrant Priests, that might come from Foreign Parts, they were kept from knowing what was said in the Worship of God. It was pretended, that *Pilate* having ordered the Inscription on the Cross, in *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Hebrew*, these three Languages were sanctified; but it is not easy to understand what Authority he had for conferring such a Privilege on them. But the keeping all in an unknown Tongue, preserved in dark Ages the Esteem of their Offices; in which there were such Prayers and Hymns, and such Lessons, that if the People had understood them, they must have given

great Scandal: In many Prayers the Pardon of Sins, and the Grace of God were asked, in such a Stile, of the Saints, as if these had been wholly at their Disposal, and as if they had been more merciful than God, or Christ. In former Times, all that did officiate, were peculiarly habited, and all their Garments were blessed; and these were considered, as a Part of the Train of the Mass; but on the other Hand, White had been the Colour of the Priests Vestments under the *Mosaical* Law, and was early brought into the Christian Churches: It was a proper Expression of Innocence, and it was fit that the Worship of God should be in a decent Habit. So it was continued; and since the Sacrifices offered to Idols were not thereby, according to St. *Paul*, of their own Nature polluted, and every Creature of God was good; it was thought, notwithstanding the former Abuse, most reasonable to use these Garments still.

The Morning and Evening Prayers were put almost in the same Method in which we use them still, only there was no Confession, nor Absolution. In the Office for the Communion, there was a Commemoration of Thanksgiving for the Blessed Virgin, and all departed Saints, and they were commended to God's Mercy and Peace. In the Consecration, the Use of crossing the Elements was retained; but there was no Elevation; which was at first used as an Historical Rite, to shew Christ's being lifted up on the Cross; but was afterwards done, to call on the People to adore it. No Stamp was to be on the Bread, and it was to be thicker than ordinary. It was to be

The new  
Offices.

Book II. be put in the People's Mouths by the Priests; though it had been antiently put in their Hands. Some in the *Greek Church* began to take it in Spoons of Gold, others in a Linnen Cloth, called their *Dominical*: But after the corporal Presence was received, the People were not suffered to touch it, and the Priests Thumbs and Fingers were peculiarly anointed, to qualify them for that Contact: In Baptism, the Child's Head and Breast was cross'd, and an Adjuration was made of the Devil, to depart from him: Children were to be thrice dip'd, or in Case of Weakness, Water was to be sprinkled on their Faces, and then they were to be anointed. The Sick might also be anointed, if they desired it. At Funerals, the departed Soul was recommended to God's Mercy.

Private  
Communion.

The Sacraments were formerly believed of such Virtue, that they conferred Grace by the very receiving them, *ex opere operato*: And so Women baptized. The Antients did send Portions of the Eucharist to the Sick, but without any Pomp: which came in, when the corporal Presence was believed. But instead of that, it was now appointed, that the Sacrament should be ministred to the Sick, and therefore in case of Weakness, Children might be baptized in Houses; though it was more suitable to the Design of Baptism, which was the Admission of a new Member to the Church, to do it before the whole Congregation. But this, which was a Provision for Weakness, is become since a Mark of Vanity, and a Piece of affected State. It was also appointed, that the Sacra-

ment

ment should be given to the Sick, and not to be sent from the Church, but consecrated by their Bed-sides: Since Christ had said, that where two or three were assembled in his Name, he would be in the Midst of them. But it is too gross a Relick of the worst Part of Popery, if any imagine, that after an ill Life, some sudden Sorrow for Sin, with a hasty Absolution, and the Sacrament, will be a Passport to Heaven; since the Mercies of God in Christ are offered in the Gospel, only to those who truly believe, sincerely repent, and do change the Course of their Lives.

The Liturgy thus compiled, was published, with a Preface concerning Ceremonies, the same that is still in the Common-Prayer-Book, written with extraordinary Judgment and Temper.

When the Book came into all Men's Hands, Censures several things were censured: As particularly pass'd on the frequent Use of the Cross and Anointing. The former began to be used, as a Badge of a crucified Saviour: But the Superstition of it was so much advanced, that *Latria* was given to the Crozier. The using it was also believed to have a Virtue for driving away evil Spirits, and preserving one from Dangers: So that a Sacramental Virtue was affixed to it; which could not be done, since there is no Institution for it in Scripture: But the using it as a Ceremony, expressing the believing in a crucified Saviour, could import no Superstition; since Ceremonies, that only express our Duty, or Profession, may be used as well as Words; these being Signs, as the other are Sounds, that express our Thoughts. The Use of

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Book II. of Oil in Confirmation, and receiving Penitents, was early brought into the Church: But it was not applied to the Sick, till the tenth Century; for the Antients did not understand those Words of *St. James* to relate to it, but to the extraordinary Gift of Healing, then in the Church.

All While these Changes were under Consideration, there were great Heats every where and a great Contradiction among the Pulpits: some commending all the old Customs, and others inveighing as much against them: So the Power of granting Licenses to preach was taken from the Bishops, and restrained only to the King and the Archbishops; yet even that did not prove an effectual Restraining. So a Proclamation was set out, restraining all Preaching, till the Order, which was then in the Hands of the Bishops, should be finished; and instead of hearing Sermons, they were required to apply themselves to Prayer for a Blessing on that which was then preparing, and to content themselves in the mean while with the Homilies.

Affairs in Scotland. The War of *Scotland* continued: The Scots received a great Supply from *France* of 6000 Men, under the Command of *Dessey*. The *English* had fortified *Haddington*, which was well situated, and lay in a fruitful Country. So the Governor of *Scotland* joining an Army of Scots to the *French*, sat down before it. The Protector saw the Inconveniences of long War coming on him, both with *Scotland* and *France*: So he offered a Truce for Ten Years, in which Time he hoped, by Present and Practices, to gain, or at least to divide

those who were united by the War. Many of the *Scotch* Nobility liked the Proposition well : And indeed the Insolence of the *French* was such, that instead of being Auxiliaries, they considered them as Enemies. But the *English* were so apprehensive of a Match with *England*, that they never concluded themselves secure, till it were put out of their Power, and so did vehemently promote the Proposition made by the *French*, of sending their Queen over to *France* : And this was in Conclusion agreed to. So the *French* Ships that brought over the Auxiliaries, carried back the young Queen. The Siege of *Hadington* went on : A great Recruit sent to them from *Berwick* was intercepted, and cut off : But they were well supplied with Ammunition and Provisions. Some Castles that the *English* had, were taken by Surprise, and others by Treachery : A Fleet was sent to spoil the Coast of *Scotland*, under the Admiral's Command ; but he made only two Descents, in both which he had such ill Success, that he lost near 1200 Men in them. The Earl of *Arbuthnot* led in a good Army to the Relief of *Hadington* : The Siege was opened, and the place well supplied. But as *Dessey* marched back to *Edinburgh*, his Soldiers committed great Outrages upon the *Scots* ; so that if *Arbuthnot* had designed to fight, he had great Advantages, since the *Scots* were now very weary of their imperious Friends, the *French* : But he marched back, having performed that for which he was sent. *Dessey* followed him, and made a great Inroad into *England*, but would not give the *Scots* any

Share

Book II. Share of the Spoil, and treated them in all

Things as a conquered Province: And being  
 1548. in Fear of them, he fortified himself in  
*Leith*, which before was but an inconsiderable Village. He also attacked the Fort which the *English* had in *Inchkeith*, and took it. But he was recalled upon the Complaints that were sent to the Court of *France* against him. Now the People there began to feel their Slavery, and to hate those that had persuaded the sending their Queen to *France* and particularly the Clergy, and were therefore the more disposed to hearken to such Preachers as discovered their Corruptions and Superstition. *Montuc*, Bishop of *Valence*, a Man celebrated for Wisdom, and for so much Moderation in Matters of Religion, that it drew upon him the Suspicion of Heresy, was sent over from *France* to be Chancellor of *Scotland*. This was like to give great Discontent to the *Scottish* Nobility: So he returned to *France*. The *English* were now involved in a War, in which they could promise themselves no good Issue, unless they could conquer the Kingdom: For the End they had proposed by a Match, was now put out of the Power even of the *Scots* themselves.

Affairs in *Germany*. In *Germany*, the Emperor, after he had used all possible Endeavours to bring the Council back to *Trent*, but without Success, protested against those at *Bologna*; and ordered three Divines (one of them was esteemed a Protestant) to draw a Book for reconciling Matters of Religion, which should take Place in that Interval, till a Council should

1548.

meet in *Germany*, called from that the *Interim*. The chief Concessions, in Favour of the Protestants, were the Communion in both Kinds, and that married Priests might officiate. A Diet was summoned, where *Maurice* was invested in the Electorate of *Saxe*, the degraded Elector being made to look on, and see the Ceremony; which he did with his ordinary Constancy of Mind: and without expressing any Concern about it, he returned to his Studies; which were chiefly employed in the Scriptures. The Book was proposed to the Diet, and the Bishop of *Mentz*, without any Order, thanked the Emperor for it, in their Name; and this was published as the Consent of the Diet. So might a Thing will pass for a Consent of the States, by a Conqueror that looks on himself as above Law. Both Papists and Protestants were offended at it. It was condemned at *Rome*, where no Heresy was more odious, than that the secular Powers should meddle in Points of Faith. The Protestants generally refused it; and the imprisoned Elector could not be wrought on to receive it, either by the Offers that were made him, or the Severities he was put to, in all which he was always the same. Some Contests arose between *Melancthon* and the other *Lutherans*: For he thought the Ceremonies, being things indifferent, might be received; but the others thought these would make Way for all the other Errors of Popery. The Protestant Religion was now almost ruined in *Germany*, and this made the Divines turn their Eyes to *England*. *Calvin* wrote to the Protector,



Book II. Protector, and press'd him to go on to a more compleat Reformation, and that Prayers for the Dead, the Chrism, and extreme Unction might be laid aside. He desired him to trust in God, and go on, and wished there were more Preaching, and in a more lively Way, than he heard was then in *England*; but above all Things he prayed him to suppress that Impiety and Profanity that he heard abounded in the Nation.

1548. In the End of this Year, a Session of Parliament met, but no Bill was finished before *February*; the first was concerning the married Clergy, which was finished by the Commons in six Days, but lay six Weeks before the Lords: Nine Bishops, and four Temporal Lords protested against it. It was declared, that it were better for Priests to live unmarried, free of all worldly Cares; yet since the Laws compelling it, had occasioned great Filthiness, they were all repealed. The Pretence of Chastity in the *Romish* Priests, had possessed the World with a high Opinion of them, and had been a great Reflection on the Reformers, if the World had not clearly seen through it, and been made very sensible of the ill Effects of it, by the Defilement brought into their own Beds and Families. Nor was there any Point in which the Reformers had enquired more, to remove this Prejudice that lay against them. In the Old Testament, all the Priests were not only married, but the Office descended by Inheritance. In the New Testament, Marriage was declared *Honourable in all*: Among the Qualifications of Bishops and Deacons, their being

1549.

A Session of Parliament.

An Act for the Marriage of the Clergy.

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e *Husbands of one Wife*, are reckoned up. Book II.  
 any of the Apostles were married, and  
 rried their Wives about with them, as also  
 quila did *Priscilla*. Forbidding to marry, is  
 ckoned a Mark of the Apostacy that was  
 follow. Some of the first Hereticks in-  
 ighed against Marriage, but the Orthodox  
 fified it, and condemned those Churchmen  
 at put away their Wives : Which was con-  
 emed by a General Council, in the Fifth  
 entury: *Paphnutius*, in the Council of *Nice*, In *Trullo*.  
 oposed a Motion that was made for it: *Hi-*  
 ry of *Poitiers* was married; *Basil* and *Na-*  
 anzen's Fathers were Bishops. *Heliodorus*,  
 he first that wrote a Romance, moved that  
 ishops might live singly : but till then every  
 he did in that as he pleased; and even those  
 ho were twice married, if the first was be-  
 ore their Conversion, might be Bishops ;  
 hich *Jerome* himself, though very partial  
 o the Celibate, justifies. All the Canons made  
 gainst the married Clergy, were only posi-  
 ve Laws, which might be repealed. The  
 riests in the *Greek* Church did still live with  
 heir Wives at that Time. In the West, the  
 Clergy did generally marry, and in *Edgar's*  
 Time, they were for the most Part married  
 n *England*. In the Ninth Century, *P. Ni-*  
 olas pressed the Celibate much, but was op-  
 posed by many. In the Eleventh Century,  
*Gregory* the Seventh intending to set up a  
 ew Ecclesiastical Empire, found that the un-  
 married Clergy would be surest to him, since  
 he married gave Pledges to the State, and  
 herefore he proceeded furiously in it ; and  
 called all the married Priests, *Nicolaitans* : yet  
 in

Book II. in *England*, *Lanfranc* did only impose the  
 ~~~~~ Celibate on the Prebendaries, and the Cler-  
 1549. gy that lived in Towns : *Anselm* imposed it
 on all without Exception ; but both *He*, *Bernard*, and *Petrus Damiani*, complain, that
Sodomy abounded much, even among the
 Bishops : And not only *Panormitan*, but *Pim*
 the *Second* wished, that the Laws for the Ce-
 libate were taken away. So it was clear, that
 it was not founded on the Laws of God ;
 and it was a Sin to force Church-men to vow
 that which sometimes was not in their Power.
 And it was found by examining the Forms of
 Ordination, that the Priests in *England* had
 made no such Vows ; and even the Vow in
 the *Roman* Pontifical to live chastly, did not
 import a Tie not to marry, since a Man
 might live chaste in a married State. Many
 lewd Stories were published of the Clergy,
 but none seemed more remarkable, than that
 of the *Pope's* Legate, in *Henry the Second's*
 Time, who the very same Night after he had
 put all the married Clergy from their Bene-
 fices, was found a Bed with a Whore. It was
 also observed, that the unmarried Bishops, if
 they had not Bastards to raise, were as much
 set on advancing their Nephews and Kindred
 as those that were married could be. Nor
 did any Persons meddle more in secular Af-
 fairs, than the unmarried Clergy : And it
 might be reasonable to restrain the Clergy, as
 was done in the Primitive Church, from con-
 verting the Goods of the Church, which were
 entrusted to their Care, to the enriching of
 their Families. None appeared more zealous
 for procuring this Liberty, than several
 Clergy

ergymen that never made use of it; in Book II.
 particular, *Ridley* and *Redmayn*.

Another Act passed, confirming the Litur- 1549.
 which was now finished; Eight Bishops, An Act
 and Three Temporal Lords only protesting a- confirm-
 gainst it. There was a long Preamble, set- ing the
 ting forth the Inconvenience of the former Liturgy.
 Offices, and the Pains that had been taken to
 reform them; and that divers Bishops and
 Divines had, by the Aid of the Holy Ghost,
 with an uniform Agreement, concluded on the
 new Book: Therefore they enacted, That by
 Whit Sunday next, all divine Offices should be
 performed according to it; and if any used
 other Offices, for the First Offence they should
 be imprisoned Six Months; lose their Bene-
 fices for a Second; and be imprisoned during
 life for the Third Offence. Some censured
 those Words, that the Book was composed
 by the Aid of the Holy Ghost; but this did
 not import an Inspiration, but a divine Assis-
 tance. Many wondered to see the Bishops of
 Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, and Westmin-
 ster, protest against the Act, since they had
 concurred in composing the Book. It does not
 appear whether they were dissatisfied at any
 thing in it, or whether they opposed the im-
 posing it on such severe Penalties; or if they
 were displeased at a Proviso that was added
 for the using of Psalms taken out of the Bible,
 which was intended for the singing of Psalms,
 when put in Verse, and much used both in
 Churches and Houses, by all that loved the
 Reformation. In the Primitive Times the
 Christians used the Psalter much, and the
 chief Devotion of the Monastick Orders con-
 sisted

Book II. *sifted in repeating it often. Apollinarius* per
 it in Verse, and both *Nazianzen* and *Prudentius* wrote many devout Hymns in Verse
 Others, though in Prose, were much used, as the *Gloria in excelsis*, and the *Te Deum*: After-
 1549. *terwards the greatest Part of the Offices were*
 put in *Latin Rhimes*, and so now some *English* Poets turned the Psalter into Verse, which
 was then much esteemed, but both our Language and Poetry, being since that Time
 much improved, this Work has now lost its
 Beauty so much, that there is great Need of
 a new Version.

An Act
 for Fast-
 ing.

Another Act passed about Fasting, declar-
 ing, "That though all Days and Meas-
 " were in themselves alike, yet Fasting being
 " a great Help to Virtue, and to the subduing
 " the Body to the Mind, and a Distinction
 " of Meats conducing to the Advancement
 " of the Fishing-trade, it was Enacted
 " That *Lent*, and all *Fridays* and *Saturdays*
 " and *Ember Days*, should be Fish-days, un-
 " der severe Penalties; excepting the weak
 " or those that had the King's License.
 Christ had told his Disciples, that when he
 was taken from them, they should *fast*: So
 in the Primitive Church they fasted before
Easter; but the same Number of Days was
 not observed in all Places: Afterwards other
 Rules and Days were set up: But St. *Austin*
 complained, that many in his Time placed
 their Religion in observing them. Fast-days
 were turned to a Mockery in the Church of
Rome, in which they both dined, and drank
 eat Fish dressed exquisitely, and drank Wine.
 This made many run to another Extreme and

gain

inst all Fasts, or Distinction of Days, which
 certainly, if rightly managed, and without
 superstition, is a great Means for keeping
 a Seriousness of Mind, which is necessary
 the maintaining the Power of Religion.
 her Bills were proposed, but not passed; one
 making it Treason to marry the King's
 sters, without the Consent of the King and
 Council: But the Forfeiture of Succession in
 at Case was thought sufficient. The Bishops
 d also complain of their Want of Power
 repress Vice, which so much abounded:
 at the Laity were so apprehensive of coming
 ain under an Ecclesiastical Tyranny, that
 ey would not consent to it. A Proposition
 s also made for bringing the Common-law
 o a Body, in Imitation of *Justinian's* Di-
 sts: But it fell, being too great a Design
 be finished under an Infant King.
 In this Parliament the Admiral was At-
 nted. The Queen Dowager died in *Septem- The Ad-
 ber last*, not without Suspicion of Poison; *miral's At-
 on that*, he renewed his Addresses to Lady *tainder.*
Elizabeth: But finding it in vain to expect
 at his Brother and the Council would con-
 nt to it, and that her Right to the Successi-
 would be cut off if he married her with-
 t their Consent, he resolved to make sure
 the King's Person, till he made a Change
 the Government: He fortified his House,
 e laid up a Magazine, and made a Party a-
 ong the Nobility. The Protector employed
 any to divert him from those desperate De-
 ns; but his Ambition being incurable, he
 as forced to proceed to Extremities against
 m. He sent him Prisoner to the *Tower* in
January,

Book II. *January*, with his Confederate *Sharrington* who being Vice-treasurer of the Mint at *Bristol*, had supplied him with Money, and had coined much base Money for his Use. Many were sent to persuade him to a better Mind; and his Brother was willing to be again reconciled to him, if he would retire from the Court and Business; but he was intractable. So, many Articles were objected to him, both of his Designs against the State and of his Malversation in his Office, several Pirates having been entertained by him. Many Witnesses, and Letters under his own Hand, were brought against him. Almost the whole Council went to the *Tower* and examined him; but he refused to make any Answers, and said, He expected an open Trial. The whole Council upon this, acquainted the King with it, and desired him to refer the Matter to the Parliament, which he granted. Upon that, some Counsellors were again sent to see what they could draw from him; but he was sullen, and after he had answered to three of the Articles, denying some Particulars, and excusing others, he refused to go any further. The Business was next brought into the House of Lords: The Judges and the King's Council delivered their Opinions, That the Articles objected to him were Treason. Then the Evidence was given upon which the whole House passed the Bill, the Protector only withdrawing: The King dispatched it in two Days. In the House of Commons many argued against Attainder without a Trial, or bringing the Party to make his Answers. But a Message was sent

from the King, desiring them to proceed as the Lords had begun. So the Lords that had given Evidence against him in their own House, were sent down to the Commons: Upon which they pass'd the Bill; and the Royal Assent was given the fifth of *March*: And afterwards, the King being press'd to it by the Council, gave Orders for the Execution; which was done the twentieth of *March*. This was the only Cure that his Ambition seem'd capable of: Yet it was thought against Nature, that one Brother should fall by the Hand of another: And the attainting a Man without hearing him, was condemn'd, as contrary to Nature and Justice; so the Protector suffered almost as much by his Death, as he could have done by his Life.

Book II.

1549.

The Laity and Clergy both gave the King Subsidies, and so the Parliament was prorogued. The first Thing taken into Care, was the receiving the Act of Uniformity: Some Complaints were made of the Priests Way of officiating, that they did it with such a Tone of Voice, that the People did not understand what was said, no more than when the Prayers were said in *Latin*; so this Temper was found: Prayers were ordered to be said in Parish-Churches in a plain Voice, but in Cathedrals the old Way was still kept up, as agreeing better with the Musick used in them: Though this seem'd not very decent in the Confession of Sins, nor in the *Litany*, where a simple Voice, gravely uttered, agreed better with those Devotions than those Catechises and Musical Notes do. Others continued

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nued

Book II.

1549.

nued to use all the Gesticulations, Crossings and Kneeling, that they had formerly been accustomed to: The People did also continue the Use of their Beads: Which were brought in by *Peter Hermit*, in the eleventh Century, by which the repeating the Angel's Salutation to the Virgin, was made a great Part of their Devotion, and was ten Times said for one *Pater Noster*. Instructions were given to the Visitors to put all these down in a new Visitation, and to enquire if any Priests continued to drive a Trade by Trentals, or Masses for departed Souls. Order was also given, that there should be no private Masses at Altars in the Corners of Churches, and that there should be but one Communion in a Day, unless it were in great Churches, and at high Festivals, in which they were allowed to have one Communion in the Morning, and another at Noon. The Visitors made their Report, That they found the Book of Common Prayer received universally over all the Kingdom, only Lady *Mary* continued to have Mass said according to the abrogated Forms: Upon this, the Council wrote to her to conform to the Laws; for the nearer she was to the King in Blood, she was so much the more obliged to give a good Example to the rest of the Subjects. She refused to comply with their Desires, and sent one to the Emperor for his Protection; upon which, the Emperor pressed the *English* Ambassadors, and they promised, that for some Time she should be dispensed with. The Emperor pretended afterwards that they made him an absolute Promise that she should never be more trou-

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bled about it, but they said, it was only a temporary Promise. A Match was also proposed for her with the King of *Portugal's* Brother, but it was let fall soon after. She refused to acknowledge the Laws made when the King was under Age, and carried her self very high; for she knew well that the Protector was then afraid of a War with *France*, and that made the Emperor's Alliance more necessary to *England*: Yet the Council sent for the Officers of her Household, and required them to let her know that the King's Authority was the same when he was a Child as at full Age; and that it was now lodged in them; and though as they were single Persons, they were all inferior to Her, yet as they were the King's Council, she was bound to obey them, especially when they executed the Law; which all Subjects, of what Rank or Degree, were bound to obey. Yet at present they durst go no further, for Fear of the Emperors Displeasure: So it was resolved to converse at her Mass.

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The Reformation of the greatest Errors in Disputes
vine Worship being thus established, *Cran-* concern-
er proceeded next to establish a Form of ing
doctrine: The chief Point that hitherto was Christ's
touched, was the Presence of Christ in the Presence
sacrament, which the Priests magnified as the in the Sa-
crament.
greatest Mystery of the Christian Religion,
and the chief Privilege of Christians; with
which the simple and credulous Vulgar were
easily affected. The *Lutherans* received
that which had been for some Ages the Do-
ctrine of the *Greek Church*, That in the Sa-
craments there was both Bread and Wine,
D 2 and

Book II. and also the Substance of the Body and Blood
 of Christ. The *Helvetians* look'd on it only
 as a Commemoration of the Death of Christ.
 1549. The Princes of *Germany* were at great Pains
 to have these reconciled, in which *Bucer* had
 laboured with great Industry: But *Luther*
 being a Man of harsh Temper, did not easily
 bear Contradiction, and was too apt to as-
 sume, in Effect, that Infallibility to himself,
 which he condemned in the Pope. Some took
 a middle Way, and asserted a real Presence;
 but it was not easy to understand what was
 meant by that Expression, unless it was a real
 Application of Christ's Death; so that the
 Meaning of *Really* was *Effectually*. But
 though *Bucer* followed this Method, *Peter*
Martyr did in his Lectures declare plainly for
 the *Helvetians*. So *Dr. Smith*, and some
 others, intended publicly to oppose and affront
 him; and challenged him to a Dispute about
 it; which he readily accepted, on these Con-
 ditions, That the King's Council should first
 approve of it, and that it should be managed
 in Scripture-terms: For the Strength of those
 Doctors lay in a nimble managing of those
 barbarous and unintelligible Terms of the
 Schools, which though they sounded high
 yet really they had no Sense under that: So
 all the Protestants resolved to dispute in
 Scripture Terms, which seemed more proper
 in Matters of Divinity, than the Metaphysical
 Language of Schoolmen. The Council
 having appointed *Dr. Cox*, and some others
 to preside in the Dispute, *Dr. Smith* went
 out of the Way, and a little after fled out of
England: But before he went, he wrote a re-

ry mean Submission to *Cranmer*: Other Doctors disputed with *Peter Martyr* concerning Transubstantiation, but that had the common Fate of all publick Disputes, for both Sides gave out that they had the better. At the same Time there were also Disputes at *Cambridge*, which were moderated by *Ridley*, that was sent down thither by the Council. He had fallen on *Bertram's* Book of the Sacrament, and wondered much to find so celebrated a Writer in the ninth Century, engage so plainly against the corporal Presence: This disposed him to think that at that Time it was not the received Belief of the Church: He communicated the Matter to *Cranmer*, and they together made great Collections out of the Fathers on this Head, and both wrote concerning it.

The Substance of their Arguments were, Argu- That as Christ called the Cup *the Fruit of the* ments a-
Vine, so St. *Paul* called the other Element gainst the
Bread, after the Consecration; which shews corporal
that their Natures were not changed. Christ Presence.
speaking to *Jews*, and substituting the Eucha-
nist in the Room of the Paschal Lamb, used
such Expressions as had been customary among
the *Jews* on that Occasion; who called the
Lamb the *Lord's Passover*; which could not
be meant literally, since the *Passover* was the
Angel's passing over their Houses, when the
First-born of the *Egyptians* were killed: So
it being a Commemoration of that, was
called the *Lord's Passover*; and in the same
sense did Christ call the Bread *his Body*: Fi-
gurative Expressions being ordinary in Scrip-
ture, and not improper in Sacraments, which

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may be called figurative Actions. It was also appointed for a Remembrance of Christ, and that supposes Absence. The Elements were also called by Christ his *Body broken*, and his *Blood shed*; so it is plain, they were his Body, not as it is glorified in Heaven, but as it suffered on the Cross: And since the Scriptures speak of Christ's Continuance in Heaven till the last Day, from thence they inferred, that he was not corporally present. And it was shewed, that the *eating Christ's Flesh*, mentioned by St. *John*, was not to be understood of the Sacrament, since of every one that did eat, it is said, that he has *Eternal Life in him*. So that was to be understood only of receiving Christ's Doctrine; and he himself shewed it was to be meant so, when he said, that *the Flesh profited nothing, but his Words were Spirit and Life*. So that all this was according to Christ's ordinary Way of teaching in Parables. Many other Arguments were brought from the Nature of a Body, to prove that it could not be in more Places than one at once; and that it was not in a Place after the Manner of a Spirit, but was always extended. They found also that the Fathers had taught, that the Elements were still Bread and Wine, and were the Types, the Signs, and Figures of Christ's Body, not only according to *Tertullian* and St. *Austin*, but to the antient Liturgies, both in the *Greek* and *Roman* Churches. But that on which they built most, was, that *Chrysostom*, *Gelasius*, and *Theodoret*, arguing against those who said that the human Nature in Christ was swallowed up by its U-

nion

nion to his Godhead ; they illustrated the Contrary thus ; As in the Sacrament, the Elements are united to the Body of Christ, and yet continue to be the same that they were formerly, both in Substance, Nature, and Figure ; so the Humanity was not destroyed by its Union with the *Word*. From which it appeared, that it was then the received Opinion, That the Elements were not changed ; and therefore all those high Expressions in *Chrysostom*, or *others*, were only Strains and Figures of Eloquence, to raise the Devotion of the People higher in that holy Action. But upon those Expressions, the following Ages built that Opinion ; which agreeing so well with the Designs of the Priests for establishing the Authority of that Order, which by its Character was qualified for the greatest Performance that ever was ; no Wonder they took all imaginable Pains to infuse it into the Belief of the World ; and those dark Ages were disposed to believe every thing so much the rather, the more incredible that it appeared to be. In the Ninth Century, many of the greatest Men of that Age wrote against it, and none of them were for that condemned as Hereticks. The contrary Opinion was then received in *England* ; as appeared by one of the *Saxon* Homilies that was read on *Easter-day*, in which many of *Bertram's* Words were put. But it was generally received in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century, and fully established in the fourth Council in the *Lateran*. At first it was believed that the whole Loaf was turned into one entire Body, so that in the Distributions every one

Book II. had a Joint given him ; and according to that Conceit, it was given out, that it did often bleed, and was turned into Pieces of Flesh. But this seemed an undecent Way of handling Christ's glorified Body ; so the Schoolmen did invent a more seemly Notion, That a Body might be in a Place after the Manner of a Spirit, so that in every Crumb there was an entire Christ ; which, tho' it appeared very hard to be conceived, yet it generally prevailed ; and then the Miracles fitted for the former Opinion were no more heard of, but new ones, agreeing to this Hypothesis, were set up in their Stead : So dextrously did the Priests deceive the World. And because a Mouthful of Bread, or a Draught of Wine, would have been shrewd Temptations to make the People think it was really Bread and Wine that they got ; therefore as the Cup was taken away, so instead of Bread a thin Wafer was given, to make the People more easily imagine, that it was only the Accidents of Bread that were received by them. Upon these Grounds did *Cranmer* and *Ridley* go in this Matter.

Anabap- There were some *Anabaptists* at this Time
tists in in *England*, that were come over out of *Ger-*
England. *many*. Of them there were two Sorts ; some only objected to the baptizing of Children, and to the Manner of it by sprinkling, and not by dipping ; others held many Opinions, that had been antiently condemned as Heresies. They had raised a cruel War in *Germany*, and set up a new King at *Munster* ; but all these carried the Name of *Anabaptists* from that of Infant-Baptism, though it was one of the mildest Opinions that they held. Some of these

these came over to *England*; so a Commission was granted to some Bishops and others to search them out, and to proceed against them. Several Persons were brought before them, and did abjure their Errors; which were, "That there was not a Trinity of Persons; that Christ was not God, and took not Flesh of the Virgin; and that a Regenerate Man could not sin." One *Joan Bocher*, called *Joan of Kent*, denied that Christ took Flesh of the Substance of his Mother; she was out of Measure vain and conceited of her Notions, and rejected all the Instruction that was offered her with Scorn: So she was condemned as an obstinate Heretick, and delivered to the secular Arm. But it was very hard to persuade the King to sign the Warrant for her Execution: He thought it was an Instance of the same Spirit of Cruelty, for which the Reformers condemned the Papists. It was hard to condemn one to be burn'd for some wild Opinions, especially when they seemed to flow from a disturbed Brain. But *Cranmer* perswaded him, that he being God's Lieutenant, was bound, in the first Place, to punish those Offences committed against God: He also alledged the Laws of *Moses* for punishing Blasphemers; and he thought Errors that struck immediately against the Apostles Creed, ought to be capitally punish'd. These Things did rather silence than satisfy the young King. He signed the Warrant with Tears in his Eyes, and said to *Cranmer*, that since he resign'd up himself in that Matter to his Judgment, if he sinned in it, it should lie at his Door. This struck the Arch-bishop; and both *He* and *Ridley* took her into their Houses, and tried what

Book H.

1549.

Two were burn'd.

Book II. Reason, joined with Gentleness, could do. But she was still more and more insolent: So at last she was burn'd, and ended her Life very indecently, breaking out often in Jeers and Reproaches, and was looked on as a Person fitter for *Bedlam* than a Stake. Some Time after that, a *Dutchman*, *Georgé van Parre*, was also condemned and burn'd, for denying the Divinity of Christ, and saying, That the Father only was God. He had led a very exemplary Life, both for Fasting, Devotion, and a good Conversation, and suffered with extraordinary Composedness of Mind. These Things cast a great Blemish on the Reformers: It was said, they only condemned Cruelty when it was exercised on themselves, but were ready to practise it, when they had Power. The Papists made great Use of this afterwards in Queen *Mary's* Time, and what *Cranmer* and *Ridley* suffer'd in her Time, was thought a just Retaliation on them, from that wise Providence that dispenses all Things justly to all Men. For the other Sort of *Anabaptists*, no Severities were used against them, but several Books were written to justify Infant-Baptism; and the Practice of the Church so early began, and so universally spread, was thought a good Plea, especially being grounded on such Arguments in Scripture, as did demonstrate, at least, the Lawfulness of it.

The Doctrine of Predestination abused.

Another Sort of People was much complained of, who built so much on the received Opinion of Predestination, that they thought they might live as they pleased; since nothing could resist an absolute Decree: Nor did those who had advanced that Opinion, know well how

to hinder People from making such Inferences from it; all they did, was to warn them, not to pry too much into those Secrets: But if the Opinion was true, there was no Need of much prying to make such Conclusions from it. This had a very ill Effect on the Lives of many, who thought they were set loose from all Obligations; and that was indeed the greatest Scandal of the Reformation. The Preachers were aware of it, and apprehensive of the Judgments of God that would follow on it: Of which they gave the Nation free Warning.

Book II.

1549.

At this Time a Sort of Contagion of Rage run over all the Commons of *England*. The Nobility and Gentry finding more Advantage by the Trade of Wool, than by their Corn, did generally inclose their Grounds, and turn them to Pasture; and so kept but few Servants, and took large Portions of their Estates into their own Hands: And yet the Numbers of the People encreas'd, Marriage being allowed to all; the Abrogation of many Holidays, and the putting down of Pilgrimages, gave them also more Time to work: So the Commons feared to be reduced to great Slavery. Some proposed an *Agrarian* Law for regulating this; and the King himself wrote a Discourse about it, that there might be some Equality in the Division of the Soil among the Tenants. The Protector was a great Friend to the Commons, and complained much of the Oppression of the Landlords. There was a Commission issued out, to enquire concerning Enclosures and Farms; and whether those who purchased the Abbey-lands, and were obliged to keep up Hospitality, perform'd it or not? And

Book II.

1549.

The Re-
bellion in
Devon-
shire.
June 10.

what Encouragement they gave to Husbandry: But this turned to nothing. So the Commons rose every where: Yet in most of the Inland-Countries they were easily dispers'd; and it was promised that their Grievances should be redressed. The Protector, against the Councils Mind, set out a Proclamation against all new Inclosures, and for indemnifying the People for what was passed. Commissioners were also sent every where, to hear and determine all Complaints; but the Power that was given to them was so arbitrary, that the Landlords call'd it an Invasion of Property, when their Rights were thus subjected to the Pleasures of such Men. The Commons understanding that the Protector was so favourable to them, were thereby more encouraged; and it was afterwards objected to him, that the Convulsions *England* fell in soon after, was chiefly occasioned by his ill Conduct; in which he was the more blamed, because he acted against the Mind of the greatest Part of the Council. In *Devonshire* the Insurrection was more formidable; the Superstition of the Priests joyning with the Rage of the Commons, so they became quickly Ten thousand strong. The Lord *Russel* was sent against them with a small Force, and was ordered to try if the Matter could be composed without Blood: But *Arundel*, a Man of Quality, commanding the Rebels, they were not a loose Body of People; easily dissipated: They sent their Demands to Court, "That the Old Service and "Ceremonies might be set up again; that the "Act of the Six Articles, and the Decrees of "General Councils might be again in Force: "That

That the Bible in *English* should be call'd Book II. in; that Preachers should pray for the Souls in Purgatory; that Cardinal *Pool* should be restored; that the half of the Abbeylands should be restored, to found two *Abbeys* in every Country; and that Gentlemen of 100 Marks a Year, might have but one Servant." And they desir'd a safe Conduct for their chief Leaders, in Order to the Redress of their particular Grievances: Afterwards they moderated their Desires only to Points of Religion. *Cranmer* wrote a large Answer to these, shewing the Novelty and Superstition of *those Rites and Ceremonies*, and of that whole Way of Worship, of which they were so fond; and that the Amendments and Changes had been made according to the Scriptures, and the Customs of the Primitive Church; and that their being fond of a Worship which they understood not, and being desirous to be kept still in Ignorance, without the Scriptures, shewed their Priests had greater Power over them than the common Reason of all Mankind had. As for the *Six Articles*, that Act had never pass'd, if the King had not gone in Person to the Parliament, and argued for it; yet he soon saw his Error, and was slack in executing it. After that there was a high threatening Answer sent them in the King's Name, charging them for their Rebellion and blind Obedience to their Priests. In it the King's Authority, under Age, was largely set forth; for by the Pretence of the King's Minority, the People generally were made believe, that their rising in Arms was not Rebellion. In Conclusion, they were earnestly invited to submit to the

Book II.

1549.

And in
Norfolk.The
French be-
gin a War.

the King's Mercy, as others had done, whom the King had not only pardoned, but had redressed their just Grievances. At the same Time the like Spirit of Rage enflam'd the Commons in *Norfolk*; they pretended nothing of Religion, but only to destroy the Gentry, and put new Counsellors about the King: They were led by one *Ket* a Tanner, and in a few Days grew to be *Twenty thousand*. They encamped near *Norwich*, and committed great Outrages. *Parker*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was in among them; and, with great Freedom, inveighed against their Rebellion and Cruelty, and warned them of the Judgments of God that would fall on them; for which he was in great Danger of his Life. *Ket* was now their Prince, and in Imitation of the antient *Druids*, he did Justice upon Complaints brought before him, under an Oak, called from thence the *Oak of Reformation*. The Marquis of *Northampton* was sent against them, with Orders to keep at a Distance, and cut off their Provisions. There was at the same Time a Rising likewise in *Yorkshire*, where the Commons being encourag'd by some pretended Prophecies, ran together, and committed Acts of great Barbarity on some Gentlemen. The *French* King hearing of all this, resolved to take his Advantage, and regain *Bulleign*: Three Days before he march'd with his Army, the *English* Ambassadors pressing him, upon the Intimations that were given him of his Designs, he assured him, on the Faith of a Gentleman, that he would not begin a War till he had first given Warning. But many Princes reckon it a Part of their

Prerogative

Prerogative to be exempted from such Ties, Book II.
 by which only poor Subjects ought to be fet- 1549.
 tered. All these Things falling upon the Go-
 vernment at once, it may be easily imagined
 they were under no small Consternation. A
 Fast was proclaimed at Court, where *Cranmer*
 preached with great Freedom and Vehemence :
 He laid out before them their vicious and ill
 Lives, particularly of those who pretended a
 Love to the Gospel ; and set before them the
 Judgments of God that they might look for ;
 and enlarged on the fresh Example of the Ca-
 lamities of *Germany* ; and intimated the sad
 Apprehensions he had of some terrible Stroke,
 if they did not repent and amend their
 Lives.

The Rebels in *Devonshire* besieged *Exeter* : The Re-
 The Citizens resisted their Assaults, but could not so easily resist the Assaults that Hunger
 made on them ; for they were not provided for a Siege. They were at last reduced to
 great Extremities, which made the Lord *Ruf-*
el, after he had got such Supplies as he judged
 necessary, resolve to fall upon them. They
 possessed themselves of a Bridge behind him,
 both to inclose him, and to hinder others from
 joining with him ; but he marched back, and
 did quickly beat them from it, with the Loss
 of 600 of their Men ; and by that Essay he
 perceived how easy a Work it would be to dis-
 perse them. He upon that marched for-
 ward to *Exeter*, and beat the Rebels from a
 Bridge that opened his Way to their Camp,
 killing 1000 of them : Upon which they rais-
 ed the Siege, and retired in great Disorder to
Lanceston. He pursued them as long as they
 kept

Book II.

1549.

kept in a Body, and great Numbers of them were killed; some of the Leaders and Priests were taken and hanged: So happily was that Rebellion subdued, without any Loss on the King's Side. But the Marquis of *Northampton* was not so successful in *Norfolk*: He marched into *Norwich*. The Rebels having a great Party in the Town, which was a Place of no Strength, fell in upon him next Day, and drove him out of it; 100 of his Men were killed, and 30 taken Prisoners. Upon this they were much lifted up; but the Earl of *Warwick* coming thither with 6000 Men, that were prepared to be sent to *Scotland*, they, after some Skirmishes with him, were forced to retire; for they had wasted all the Country about, so that their Provisions failed them: But *Warwick* followed them close, and killed great Numbers, and dispersed them: *Ket* and some of their Leaders were taken, and hanged in Chains. The News of this going to *Yorkshire*, the Rebels there, that had not exceeded 3000, accepted the Offer of Pardon that was sent them; and some of the more Factious, that were animating them to make new Com-motions, were taken and hanged. On the 21st of *August*, the Protector published a general Pardon in the King's Name, of all that had been done before that Day. Many of the Council opposed this, and judged it better to keep the Commons under the Lash; but the Protector thought, that as long as such Members continued in such Fears, it would be easy to raise new Disorders: So he resolved, tho' without the Majority of the Council, to go thro' with it. This disgusted the

the Council extreamly, who thought he took too much upon him. Book II.

A Visitation of *Cambridge* followed soon after this. *Ridley* was the Chief of the Visitors. When he found that a Design was laid

to suppress some Colleges, under Pretence of uniting them to others; and to convert some fellowships that were provided for Divines,

to the Study of the Civil Law, he refused to go along in that with the other Visitors; and particularly opposed the Suppression of *Clare-Hall*,

which they began with. He said, the Church was already too much robbed, and yet the Mens Ravenousness was not satisfied. It seemed the Design was laid to drive both Religion and Learning out of the Land; therefore he desired Leave to be gone. The Visitors complained of him to the Protector, and imputed his Concern for *Clare-Hall* to his Partiality for the *North*, where he was born,

that being a House for the *Northern* Counties. Upon that, the Protector wrote him a chiding letter; but he answered it with the Freedom

that became a Bishop, who was resolved to offer all Things, rather than to sin against his conscience: And the Protector was so well satisfied with him, that the College was preserved. There was at this Time an End put to a very foolish Controversy, that had occasioned some Heat, concerning the Pronunciation of the *Greek* Tongue, which many used more suitably to an *English* than a *Greek* Accent. *Cheek* being the Professor of *Greek*, and taught the truer Rules of Pronunciation; but *Gardiner* was an Enemy to every thing that was new, and so he opposed it much in

King.

Book II. King *Henry's* Time, and *Cheek* was made
 to leave the Chair : But both he, and Sir
 1549. *Thomas Smith* wrote in Vindication of his
 Rules with so much Learning, that all People
 wondered to see so much brought out upon
 so slight an Occasion ; but *Gardiner* was not
 a Man to be wrought on by Reason. Now
 the Matter was settled, and the new Way of
 Pronunciation took Place, and that the rather,
 because the Patrons of it were in such
 Power, the one being the King's Tutor, and
 the other made Secretary of State : And that
Gardiner, who opposed it, was now in the
Tower. So great an Influence has Greatness
 in supporting the most speculative and in-
 different Things.

Bonner's
Process.

August.

Bonner was now brought in Trouble : It
 was not easy to know how to deal with him
 for he obeyed every Order that was sent him
 and yet it was known that he secretly hated
 and condemned all that was done ; and as
 often as he could declare that safely, he was
 not wanting by such Ways to preserve his
 Interest with the Papists : And though he
 obeyed the Orders of Council, yet he did it
 in so remiss a Manner, that it was visible that
 it went against the Grain. So he was called
 before the Council, and charged with several
 Particulars, That whereas he used to officiate
 himself on the great Festivals, he had not
 done it since the new Service was set out
 That he took no Care to repress Adultery
 and that he never preached. So they ordered
 him to officiate every Festival, to preach once
 a Quarter, and to begin within three Weeks
 and preach at *St. Paul's* ; and to be present at
 every

every Sermon when he was in Health ; and to proceed severely against those who withdrew from the new Service, and against Adulterers. They required him to set forth the Heinousness of Rebellion, and the Nature of true Religion, and the Indifference of outward Ceremonies ; and particularly to declare, that the King's Authority was the same, and as much to be obeyed before he was of Age as after. On the first of *September* he preached ; he said nothing of the Power of Kings under Age, and spoke but little to the other Points, but enlarged much on the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament. *Hooper* and *Latimer*, two of his Hearers, informed against him. So a Commission was granted to *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, the two Secretaries of State, and *May*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, to examine that Matter, and to imprison, or deprive him, as they should see Cause for it : They were also authorized to proceed in the summary Way of the Spiritual Courts. He was summoned to *Lambeth*, where he carried himself with great Disrespect and Disingenuity towards the Delegates, and gave the Informers very foul Language ; and in his whole Discourse, he behaved himself like one that was disturbed in his Brain. When the Commission was read, he made a Protestation against it, reserving to himself a Power to except to divers Things in it. He said the Informers were Hereticks, and only prosecuted him, because he had taught the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. At the next Meeting Secretary *Smith* was there, who was not present at the first : So upon that

Account

Book II.

1549.

Account *Bonner* protested against him ; he also charged Heresy on his Accusers, who were thereby under Excommunication, and so not capable to appear in any Court. He denied that any Injunctions had been given him under the King's Hand, or Signet ; he said he had preached against the late Rebels, which implied that the King's Power was compleat, though he was under Age. It was answered to this, that the Court might proceed *ex Officio*, without Informers : And that the Injunctions concerning the Heads of which he was required to treat in his Sermon, were read to him by one of the Secretaries, and were given him by the Protector, and they were afterwards called for, and that Article about the King's Power under Age, was by Order of Council, added ; and the Paper was delivered to him by Secretary *Smith*. At a third Appearance, the Informers offered to vindicate themselves of the Charge of Heresy ; but after some scurrilous Language given them by *Bonner*, he was called upon to answer to the main Business, which was, his saying nothing of the King's Power under Age : To this he said, He had prepared Notes about it, both from the Instances in Scripture, of *Solomon*, *Joash*, and *Manasses*, of *Josiah* and *Joakim*, that reigned under Age ; as also several Instances of the *English* Story, as *Henry* the Third, *Edward* the Third, *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Sixth, and *Edward* the Fifth ; but he pretended these Things had escaped his Memory ; and a long Account of the Defeat of the Rebels being sent to him by the Council

with

with an Order to read it, had put him in some Confusion, and that the Book in which he had put his Notes, fell from him ; for which he appealed to his Chaplains, whom he had employed to gather for him the Names of those Kings who had reigned before they were of Age. But this did not satisfy the Court ; so they proceeded to examine Witnesses, whom *Bonner* entangled all he could with Interrogatories, and the Niceties of the Canon Law. *Bonner* built his main Defence on this, That in the Paper which the Protector gave him, that Article concerning the King's Age was not mentioned, but was afterwards added by *Smith* ; that he was not bound to obey it : But it was proved that the whole Council ordered that Addition to be made. *Smith* had treated him somewhat sharply, for his Carriage was very provoking ; upon that, he renewed his former Protestations against him, and refused to look on him as his Judge, since he had declared himself so partial against him : he complained, that *Smith* had compared him to Thieves and Traitors. *Smith* said, it was visible he acted as they did : To which *Bonner* answered, That as he was Secretary of State he honoured him, but as he was Sir *Thomas Smith*, he *lied*, and he *desied* him. And being threatened with Imprisonment, he seemed not much concerned at it ; he said, he had a few Goods, a poor Carcase, and a Soul ; the two former were in their Power, but he would take Care of the latter. And upon that he appealed to the King, and would not answer any more, unless *Smith* should withdraw.

Book II. withdraw. For that Contempt he was sent
 1549. to the *Marshalsea*, but as he was carried a-
 way, he broke out into great Passion, both
 against *Smith* and *Cranmer*. Being called
 again before them, he adhered to his former
 Appeal; and some new Matter being brought
 against him, he refused to answer. Great
 Endeavours were used to perswade him to
 submit. Promises were made him of gentler
 Usage for the future; but he continued ob-
 stinate, and instead of retracting, he renew-
 ed his Appeal. So on the first of *October*,
Cranmer, *Ridley*, *Smith*, and *May*, pronounc-
 ed Sentence of Deprivation, because he had
 not obeyed the Orders of the Protector and
 Council, nor declared the King's Power,
 while he was under Age. He was sent back
 to Prison till the King should give further
 Order, and a large Record was made of his
 whole Deportment during the Process, and
 put in the Register of the See of *London*,
 which he took no Care to deface when he was
 afterwards restored. This was much cen-
 sured, as, at best, a great Stretch of Law, if
 not plainly contrary to it. Some complained,
 that Lay-men concurred in such a Sentence;
 but it was said, this was no Spiritual Censure,
 for he was not degraded, but only deprived
 of his Bishoprick; and he had taken a Com-
 mission for holding it during the King's Plea-
 sure; and so those that were commissioned by
 the King might well deprive him, since he held
 it so precariously. It was also said, that *Con-
 stantine* had appointed *Triers* for hearing the
 Complaints made of some Bishops; and they
 examined the Business of *Cecilian* and the

And De-
 privation.

Don-

artists, upon an Appeal from some Synods, Book II.
had before judged that Matter. That

1549.

The Emperor did also, by his own Authority, turn out the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Nioca*, and the Bishop of *Constantinople*; tho' the Orthodox Party complained of doing it upon the false Suggestions of the *ans*, yet they did not deny his Authority in such Cases; and it was ordinary for the Emperors to appoint the Bishops that followed their Court to judge some other Bishops; which was not done Canonically, but by the Emperor's Authority. But to the Matter of Sentence, it was also said, that it was hard to deprive *Bonner* for an Omission that might be only a Defect of his Memory, as he intended it was, tho' few believed that. Upon the whole Matter, it was visible that it had been resolved to turn him out on the first occasion that could be found, and that they would hold of him on this Disadvantage; and the Fault was rather aggravated for his sake, than he was deprived for the Fault; which might have been more gently passed over in another; but he had been fierce and cruel, and so was much hated, and little pitied. He remained a Prisoner till Queen *Mary's* Reign, and continued to behave himself more like a Pagan than a Divine; for he sent about to his Friends to furnish him well with Puddings and Peas, and gave them all to the Devil. He did not supply him liberally. Such Curses and strange Acts of Episcopal Jurisdiction; they were mild, compared to those he gave when he was again restored to his See in the

Book II. the next Reign, by which he condemned so many Innocents to the Fire.

1549.

Ill Success of the English.

The *English* Affairs in foreign Parts went very unsuccessfully this Year; for when they were so distracted at Home, no Wonder if both the *French* and *Scots* took Advantage from thence. Most of the Forts about *Bulloign* were taken by the *French*; but tho' those that commanded them, did, for their own Excuse, pretend they were ill provided; yet the *French* Writers published that they were well stored. From these they came, and set down before *Bulloign*; and tho' the Plague broke into the *French* Camp, yet the Siege was not raised. The King left the Army under the Command of *Coligny*, the famous Admiral of *France*. He found the sure Way to take it, was to cut it off from Sea, and so to keep out Supplies; but the several Attempts he made to do that proved unsuccessful. The Winter that came on, forced him to raise the Siege; but he lodged a great Part of his Army in the Forts about, so that it was in Danger of being lost next Year. In *Scotland* there was also a great Turn; the Castle of *Broughty* was taken by the *Scots*, and the Garrison almost wholly cut off. The *English* took Care to provide *Haddington* well, expecting a Siege; but upon that the *Scots* left it alone; yet the Charge of keeping it was so great, and the Country about it was so wasted that all their Provisions were to be sent from *Berwick*, so that the Protector thought it more adviseable to abandon it; and upon that sent Orders to the Garrison to slight the Works and come back to *England*. So that now the *English* had no Place beyond the Borders, except

cept *Lander* ; and *Thermes* the French Gene-Book II.
 ral sat down before it, and if a Peace had not
 come, it had fallen into his Hands. The Pro-
 tector had now no foreign Ally to depend on
 but the Emperor, and little was to be ex-
 pected from him ; for he was so dissatisfy'd
 with the Changes that had been made in the
 Matters of Religion, that they found his As-
 sistance was not to be trusted to. At this
 Time the Emperor brought his Son to the
Netherlands, that he might put him in Pos-
 session of those Provinces ; tho' the secret
 Considerations that made him do it so early,
 in those Places where the Prince was not
 elective, is not visible. It was thought they
 were inclined to shake off his Yoke ; and that if
 the Emperor should have then died, they
 would have put themselves under *Maximilian*,
Ferdinand's Son, afterwards Emperor. It was
 some such Apprehension that moved *Charles*
 to make them swear Obedience so early to his
 Son, and settle not only many Limitations on
 him in the Matter of imposing Taxes, and of
 not putting Strangers in Places of Trust, nor
 governing them by a military Power, but
 make a special Provision, that in Case his
 Son should break those Rules, the Provinces
 should not be bound to obey him any longer ;
 which was the chief Ground both in Law and
 Conscience, upon which they afterwards justi-
 fied their shaking off his Yoke. *Charles*, that
 was born in those Parts, had a peculiar Ten-
 derness for them, and did perhaps fear that
 the rigid Councils of the *Spaniards* might
 prevail too much on his Son, which made him
 so careful to secure their Liberties ; a rare In-
 stance

1549.

Book II.

1549.

stance of a Prince's Love for his People, by which he took such Care of their Rights, as to make their Tie of Obedience to his Son, to depend on his maintaining them inviolably. The Princes of *Germany* were now at the Emperor's Mercy, and saw no Way to recover their Liberty, but by the Help of the *French King*: So there were Applications made to him, which he cheerfully entertain'd; only he was resolv'd first to make himself Master of *Bulloign*, and then to turn his whole Force towards *Germany*. Advertisements were given of this to the Protector, upon which he entred into a deep Consultation with his Friends what was fit to be done in so critical a Conjunction; whether it was better to deliver up *Bulloign* to the *French* by a Treaty, or to engage in a War to preserve it; which being on the *French* Side, would prove a much more chargeable War to the *English* than to the *French*; and this was of very dangerous Consequence, when Affairs were in so unsettled a Condition at Home; ill Success, which was like to be the Event of such a War, would turn on him that had the chief Administration of Affairs: So both Regard to the Publick, and to the establishing his private Fortune, which could not be done in Time of War, without drawing much Envy on him, enclined him to deliver up *Bulloign*. But his Enemies saw that the Continuance of the War was like to ruin him, whereas a general Peace would put the Nation wholly in his Hands; and therefore they who were the Majority in the Council, set themselves against all Motions for a Treaty; and said, it would

be a lamentable Reproach on the Government, if such a Place as *Bulloign* were sold. Book II.

Paget gave his Opinion in Writing, in which, after he had, with great Judgment, ballanced the Affairs of *Europe*, he concluded, that the restoring the Liberty of *Germany*, and the bearing down the Emperor's Greatness, was at present to be preferred to all other Things, and that could not be done without a Conjunction with *France*; and that was to be pursued by the Mediation of the *Venetians*. *Thomas*, a Clerk of the Council, and much employed in foreign Affairs, was of another Mind: He thought it was very dishonourable to deliver up the late Conquests in *France*; therefore he proposed the casting themselves on the Emperor, that so some Time might be gained: They knew the Emperor would not be hearty, unless they would promise to return to the *Roman* Religion; but he thought that was to be done in such an Extremity of Affairs; and when the present Difficulty was over, they might turn to other Councils. There was great Danger in this, it would very much dishearten the few Towns that refused to bear the Emperor's Yoke in *Germany*, and it would provoke the Emperor more against them afterwards, if he should find that he had been deceived by them. He also proposed, that in Order to the embroiling of *Scotland*, some should be employed to persuade the Governor to aspire to the Crown, and that he should be assured of the Assistance of *England*; for this would separate that Nation from the Interests of *France*.

1549.
Several
Expedi-
ents pro-
posed.

Book II. The Issue of these Consultations, was first, the sending over *Paget* to the Emperor, to try what might be expected from him. His publick Instructions were to obtain an Explanation of some ambiguous Words in the former Treaty, and a Ratification of it by Prince *Philip*, and to adjust some Differences in the Matter of Trade : But his secret Instructions were to see if the Emperor would include *Bulloign* in the League Defensive, and so protect it : Or if that could not be obtained, he was ordered to try, whether the Emperor would take *Bulloign* into his Hands, and what Recompence he would give for it ; but this he was ordered to propose as a Motion of his own. The Emperor shifted him off for some Time by Delays ; and pretended that the carrying his Son about from Town to Town, making them swear Obedience, took him up so, that till that was over, he could not receive his Propositions. But the Progress of the French about *Bulloign*, made *Paget* impatient ; so the Bishop of *Arras*, and the Emperor's other Ministers were appointed to treat with him. They at first treated of some Differences between the Courts of Admiralty of both Sides, and proposed some Expedients for adjusting them : For the Confirmation of the Treaty, it was offered, that the Prince should do it ; but *Paget* moved likewise, that it might be confirmed by the States. It was answered, that the Emperor would never sue to his Subjects to confirm his Treaties : He had fifteen or sixteen Parliaments, and would be in a very uneasy Condition, if all these must know the Secrets of his Negotiations : But

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The Em-
peror re-
fuses his
Assistance.

since the King of *England* was under Age, it was more reasonable for them to demand a Ratification from his Parliament. *Paget* answered, the King's Power was the same at all Ages, and a Ratification under the Great Seal did oblige him as much, as if he had made the Treaty himself; and objected, that their last Treaty with *France* was ratified by the Assembly of the States. To this they answered, that the Prerogative of the Kings of *France* was so limited, that they could not alienate any thing which belonged to the Crown, without Consent of the Parliament of *Paris*, and of the States; but the Emperor had a more unlimited Power in making Treaties. As for the Business of *Bulloign*, the Bishop of *Arras* said, it was taken after the Emperor's Treaty with *England*, and so was not included in it; nor could the Emperor comprehend it within it, without Breach of his Faith and Treaties with *France*; which was so contrary to the Emperor's Honour, that it could not be done. For the Honour of a Prince is a good Excuse, when he has no Mind to engage in a decitful, or unjust War; but it is often forgotten when the Circumstances are more favourable. *Paget*, after several other Conferences, found there was nothing more to be expected of the Emperor: So he returned back to *England*. It was upon that proposed in Council, whether since by the Treaty with *France*, *Bulloign* was to be delivered up within a few Years, it were not better to prevent a new War and a Siege, the Issue of which was like to prove very dangerous, and to enter into a Treaty for doing it present-

Book II. presently; and if at the same Time it were
 1549. not more adviseable to make an End of the
 War in *Scotland*, since there was no Possibility of compassing the Marriage, for which it was first begun.

A Faction against the Protector. Upon this, all the Protector's Enemies took off the Mask, and declared themselves against it. The Earl of *Southampton* and the Earl of *Warwick* were the chief Sticklers; the one hated him for turning him out of his Office, and the other hoped to be the chief Man in Business if he should fall. Many Things concurred to raise the Protector many Enemies; his Partiality to the Commons provoked the Gentry; his cutting off his Brother's Head, and building a magnificent Palace in the *Strand*, upon the Ruins of some Bishops Houses and Churches, and that in a Time both of War and Plague, disgusted the People. The Clergy hated him, not only for his promoting the Changes made in Religion, but for his possessing himself of so many of the Bishops best Mannors: His entertaining Foreign Troops, both *Germans* and *Italians*, tho' done by Consent of the Council, yet gave a general Dislike. And that great Advancement he was raised to, wrought much both on himself and others; for it raised his Pride, as much as it provoked the Envy of others: The Privy-Counsellors complained, that he was become so arbitrary in his Proceedings, that he little regarded the Opposition that was made by the Majority of the Council to any of his Designs. All these Things concurr'd to beget him many Enemies; and except *Cranmer*, who never forsook his Friend,

Friend, and *Paget* and *Smith*, all turned against him. So they violently opposed the Proposition for a Treaty with *France*: They also complained, that the Places about *Bulboign* were lost by his Carelessness, and by his not providing them well; and that he had recalled the Garrison out of *Haddington*; and they put him in Mind of the Conditions upon which he was first made Protector, by which he was limited to do nothing but by their Advice; tho' he had since that taken out a Patent, which cloathed him with a far greater Power. Upon *Paget's* Return, when it was visible that nothing could be expected from the Emperor, he press'd them much to consent to a Treaty with *France*: But it was said, that he had secretly directed *Paget* to procure no better Answer, that so he might be furnished with an Excuse for so dishonourable an Action; therefore they would not give Way to it.

The Protector carried the King to *Hampton-Court*, and put many of his own Creatures about him, which encreased the Jealousies: So Nine of the Privy-Council met at *Ely-House*, and assumed to themselves the Authority of the Council; and Secretary *Petre* being sent by the King to ask an Account of their Meeting, instead of returning, joined himself to them. They made a large Declaration of the Protector's ill Government and bad Designs; and of his engaging the King to set his Hand to Letters for raising Men, and for dispersing seditious Papers; therefore they resolved to see to the Safety of the King and Kingdom. Both the City of *London*, and the Lieutenant

Which turns to a publick Breach. October.

Book II. of the *Tower* declared for them : They also sent Letters all over *England*, desiring the Assistance of the Nobility and Gentry. Seven more Privy-Counsellors came and joined with them. They wrote to the King, complaining of the Protector's Obstinacy, and his refusing to hearken to their Counsels, tho' the late King had left the Government of his Person and Kingdom to them in common, and the Protector was advanced to that Dignity by them, upon Conditions which he had little regarded ; therefore they desired the King would construe well of their Intentions and Proceedings. The Protector had removed the King from *Hampton-Court*, as being an open Place to *Windsor*, which had some more Defence about it ; and had armed some of his own Servants, and set them about the King's Person, which heighten'd the Jealousies of him ; yet seeing himself abandon'd by all his Friends, except a few, and finding the Party against him was formed to such a Strength, that it would be in vain to struggle any longer, he offer'd to submit himself to the Council. So a Proposition of a Treaty was set on Foot ; and the Lords at *London* were desired to send two of their Number with their Propositions, and a Passport was sent them for their Safety. *Cranmer*, and the other two wrote to the Council, to dispose them to an Agreement, and not to follow *Cruel Counsels*. Many false Reports, as is usual on such Occasions, were carried of the Protector, as if he had threatned, that if they intended to put him to Death, the King should die first, which served to encrease the

Preju-

Prejudices against him. The Council wrote to *Cranmer* and *Paget*, charging them to look well to the King's Person, that he should not be removed from *Windsor*; and that the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Servants might be put from him, and his own sworn Servants admitted to wait: They alſo proteſted that they would proceed with all the Moderation and Favour towards the Duke of *Somerſet* that was poſſible. The Council underſtanding that all Things were prepared as they had deſired, ſent firſt Three of their Number, to ſee that the Duke of *Somerſet*, and ſome of his Creatures, *Smith*, *Stanhop*, *Thynne*, *Wolf* and *Cecil*, ſhould be confined to their Lodgings; and on the 12th of *October*, the whole Council went to *Windsor*, and made great Proteſtations of their Duty to the King, which he received favourably; and aſſured them, he took all that they had done in good Part.

The Duke of *Somerſet*, with the reſt of The Protector's Friends, except *Cecil*, who was preſently enlarged, were ſent to the *Tower*, and many Articles were objected to him, That he being made Protector, with this Condition, that he ſhould do nothing but by the Conſent of the other Executors; had treated with Ambaſſadors apart; had made Biſhops and Lord Lieutenants without their Knowledge; had held a Court of Requeſts in his Houſe; had embaiſed the Coin; had neglected the Places the King had in *France*; had encouraged the Commons in their late Inſurrections; and had given out Commiſſions, and proclaimed a Pardon without their Conſent: That he had animated the King againſt the reſt of the Council, and

Book II. had proclaimed them Traitors, and had put his own Servants armed about the King's Person. By these it appears, the Crimes against him were the Effects of his sudden Exaltation, that had made him too much forget that he was a Subject ; but that he had carried his Greatness with much Innocence, since no Acts of Cruelty, Rapine, or Bribery, were objected to him ; for they were rather Errors and Weaknesses, than Crimes. His embasing the Coin was done upon a common Mistake of weak Governments, who fly to that as their last Refuge in the Necessity of their Affairs. In his Imprisonment, he set himself to the Study of Moral Philosophy and Divinity, and wrote a Preface to a Book of Patience, which had made great Impressions on him. His Fall was a great Affliction to all that loved the Reformation, and that was encreased, because they had no Reason to trust much to the two chief Men of the Party against him, *Southampton* and *Warwick* ; the one was a known Papist, and the other was looked on as a Man of no Religion : And both at the Emperor's Court, and in *France*, it was expected, that upon this Revolution Matters of Religion would be again set back into the Posture in which King *Henry* had left them. The Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner* hoped to be discharged, and *Bonner* look'd to be re-establish'd in his Bishoprick again, and all People began to fall off much from the new Service : But the Earl of *Warwick* finding the King was zealously addicted to the Reformation, quickly forsook the Popish Party, and seemed to be a mighty Promoter of that Work. A Court of

Civi-

Civilians was appointed to examine *Bonner's* Book II. Appeal, and upon their Report the Council rejected it, and confirmed the Sentence 1549. that was pass'd upon him.

But next, Foreign Affairs come under their The Em- Care. They suspected that *Paget* had not peror will dealt effectually with the Emperor, to assist not assist them in the Preservation of *Bulloign*; so them. they sent over Sir *Tho. Cheyney*, to try what might be expected from him: They also took Care of the Garrison, and both encreased it, and supplied it well. *Cheyney* found the same Reception with the Emperor, and had the same Answer that *Paget* got. The Emperor pressed him much that Matters of Religion might be again considered, and confess'd, till that were done, he could not assist them so effectually, as otherwise he would do: So now the Council found it necessary to apply to the Court of *France* for a Peace. The Earl of *Southampton* left the Court in great Discontent; he was neither restored to his Office of Chancellor, nor was he made one of the Six Lords that were appointed to have the Charge of the King's Person; this touched him so much, that he died not long after of Grief, as was believed.

In *November*, a Session of Parliament met: A Session In which an Act was pass'd, declaring it of Parlia- Treason to call any to the Number of Twelve ment. together, about any Matter of State, if being required, they did not disperse themselves: Other riotous Assemblies were also declared felonious; the giving out of Prophecies concerning the King, or Council, was also made penal. Another Law was made against

Book II. against Vagabonds, the former Statute was repealed, as too severe, and Provisions were made for the Relief of the Sick and Impotent, and employing such as could work. The Bishops made a heavy Complaint of the Growth of Vice and Impiety, and that their Power was so much abridged, that they could not repress it : So a Bill was read, enlarging their Authority, but it was thought that it gave them too much Power ; yet it was so moderated, that the Lords passed it, but the Commons rejected it : And instead of it, sent up a Bill that impowered Thirty two, who were to be named by the King, the one half of the Temporality, and the other of the Spirituality, to compile a Body of Ecclesiastical Laws within three Years ; and that these, not being contrary to the Common, or Statute Law, and approved of by the King, should have the Force of Ecclesiastical Laws : Of the Thirty two, four were to be Bishops, and as many to be Common Lawyers.

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Six Bishops, and six Divines, were impowered to prepare a new Form of Ordination ; which being confirmed under the great Seal, should take Place after *April* next.

The Duke of Somerset fined, but restored to Favour.

Articles were also put in against the Duke of Somerset, with a Confession signed by him. But some objected, that they ought not to proceed, till they knew whether he had signed it voluntarily, or not ; and some were sent to examine him. He acknowledged he had done it freely, but protested that his Errors had flowed rather from Indiscretion than Malice, and denied all treasonable Designs against the King, or the Realm : He was fined in

2000*l*.

1000 *l.* a Year in Land, and in the Loss of
 all his Goods and Offices. He complained
 of the Heaviness of this Censure, and desired
 earnestly to be restored to the King's Favour,
 and promised to carry himself so humbly and
 obediently, that he should make Amends for
 his past Follies; which was thought a Sign of
 so abject a Mind; others excused it, since the
 Power and Malice of his Enemies was such,
 that he was not safe as long as he continued
 in Prison. He was discharged in the Beginning
 of *February*: Soon after, he had his Pardon,
 and did so manage his Interest in the King,
 that he was again brought both to the Court
 and Council in *April*. But if these Submissi-
 ons gained him some Favour at Court, they
 sunk him as much in the Esteem of the
 World.

The Reformation was now, after this Con-
 fusion was over, carried on again with Vi-
 gour. The Council sent Orders over *Eng-*
land, to require all to conform themselves to
 the new Service, and to call in all the Books
 of the old Offices. An Act passed in Parlia-
 ment to the same Effect, one Earl, six Bi-
 shops, and four Lords only dissenting: All
 the old Books and Images were appointed to
 be defaced, and all Prayers to Saints were to
 be struck out of the Primmers published by
 the late King. A Subsidy was granted, and
 the King gave a general Pardon, out of
 which all Prisoners on the Account of the
 State, and Anabaptists, were excepted. In
 this Sessions the eldest Sons of Peers were first
 allowed to sit in the House of Commons.

The

Book II. The Committee appointed to prepare the Book of Ordinations, finished their Work with common Consent, only *Heath*, Bishop of *Worcester*, refused to sign it, for which he was called before the Council, and required to do it; but he still refusing, was sent to Prison. This was thought hard Measure, to punish one for not concurring in a Thing not yet settled by Law. *Heath* was a Compiler, who went along with the Changes that were made, but was ready, upon the first favourable Conjunction, to return back to the old Superstition. It was found, that in the ancient Church, there was nothing used in Ordinations, but Prayer and Imposition of Hands: The Additions of anointing and giving consecrated Vestments were afterward brought in. And in the Council of *Florence* it was declared, that the Rite of ordaining a Priest, was the delivering the Vessels for the Eucharist, with a Power to offer Sacrifice to God for the Dead and Living, which was a Novelty invented to support the Belief of Transubstantiation. So all these Additions were cut off, and Ordination was restored to a greater Simplicity; and the Form was made almost the same that we still use; only then in ordaining a Priest, the Bishop was to lay one Hand on his Head, and with the other to give him a Bible, and a Chalice, and Bread in it. In the Consecration of a Bishop, the Form was the same that we still retain; only then they kept up the Custom of giving the Bishop a Staff, saying these Words *Be to the Flock of Christ a Shepherd*. In the Middle of the Sixth Century, the Anointing

1550.
The Book
of Ordina-
tions
put out.

The Priest's Hands was begun in *France*, but was not used in the *Roman Church* for two Ages after that. In the Eighth Century, the Vestments were given with a special blessing, empowering Priests to offer Expiatory sacrifices; then their Heads were anointed: and in the Tenth Century, the Belief of Transubstantiation being received, the Vessels for the Sacrament were delivered. It is evident from the several Forms of Ordination, that the Church did not believe it self tied to one Manner; and that the Prayer, which in some Ages was the Prayer of Consecration, was in other Ages esteemed only a Prayer preparatory to it. There were some Sponsions promised, as a Covenant, to which the Ordination was a Seal. The first of these was, that the Persons that came to receive Orders, *professed that they believed they were inwardly moved to it by the Holy Ghost*. If this were well considered, it would no Doubt put many at thirst after Sacred Offices to a Stand, who if they examine themselves well, dare not pretend to that, concerning which perhaps they know nothing, but that they have not: And if they make the Answer prescribed in the Book, without feeling any such motion in their Heart, they do publicly lie to God, and against the Holy Ghost, and have no Reason to expect a Blessing on Orders so obtained. But too many consider it only as a Ceremony in Law, necessary to make them capable of some Place of Promotion, and not as the Dedication of their Lives and Labours to God, and to the gaining of Souls. It were happy for the Church if

Bishops

Book II. Biſhops would not think it enough barely to
 1550. put theſe Queſtions, but would uſe great
 Strictneſs in examining before-hand the Mo-
 tives that ſet on thoſe who come to be or-
 dained. Another Sponſion is, *That the*
Prieſts ſhall teach the People, committed to
their Charge, and exhort them both in private
and publick, and viſit the ſick. By this they
 plight their Faith to God for the Care of
 Souls to be managed by them in Perſon, and
 upon that they muſt find the paſtoral Care
 to be a Load indeed; and ſo will neither de-
 ſert their Flocks, nor hire them out to wear
 and, perhaps, ſcandalous Mercenaries. In
 which the Faultineſs of ſome have brought
 a Blemiſh on this Church, and given ſcanda-
 to many, who could not have been ſo eaſily
 perſuaded to divide from it, if it had not
 been that they were prejudiced by ſuch groſs
 and publick Abuſes.

The Council was now much perplexed with
 the Buſineſs of *Bulloign*; and though they had
 oppoſed the delivering it up by the Protector
 yet that End being ſerved in pulling him
 down, they were convinced of the Neceſſity
 of doing it, and ſo were induced to liſten to
 the Propoſition that one *Guidotti* made for a
 Treaty. He was employed by the Conſtable
Nonmorancy, and gave them Affurances
 that as ſoon as that was ended, the French
 King would engage on the Behalf of the op-
 preſſed Princes of the Empire.

At this Time Pope *Paul* the third died
 ſen Pope, In the Conclave that followed, Cardinal *Far-
 neſe* ſet up Cardinal *Pool*, whoſe wife Behav-
 our at *Trent* had raiſed his Eſteem much

Pool cho-
 ſen Pope,
 but loſt it.

also appeared, that though he was of the Emperor's Faction, yet he did not serve him blindly. Some loaded him both with the imputations of *Lutheranism*, and of *Incontinence*: The last would not have hindered his advancement much, though true; yet he fully cleared himself of it. But the former was heavier; for in his Retirement at *Viterbo*, where he was Legate, he had given himself much to the Study of Controversies; and *Granellius*, *Flaminio*, and others suspected of *Lutheranism*, had lived in his House; and in the Council of *Trent* he seemed favourable to some of their Opinions; but the great Sufferings both of himself and Family in *England* seemed to set him above all Suspicions. When the Party for him had almost gained sufficient Number of Suffrages, he seemed little concerned at it, and did rather decline, than aspire to that Dignity; and expressed a Titch of Philosophy on this Occasion, that was more suitable to antient than modern Patterns. When a full Number had agreed, and came to adore him, according to the ordinary Ceremony, he received it with his usual Coldness; and that being done in the Night, he said, *God loved Light*, and therefore advised them to delay it till Day came. The *Italians*, among whom Ambition passes for the Character of a great Mind, looked on this an insufferable Piece of Dulness; so the Cardinals shrunk from him before Day, and chose *de Monte* Pope, who reigned by the Name of *Julius* the Third. His first Promotion was very extraordinary; for he gave his own Hat to a Servant that kept his Mon-

key;

Book II. key; and being ask'd the Reason of it, he
 1550. said, he saw as much in his Servant to recom-
 mend him to be a Cardinal, as the Conclave
 saw in him to induce them to choose him Pope.
 But others imputed this to an unnatural Af-
 fection for him.

A Trea-
 ty with
 France.

Ambassadors were sent over to *France*, the
 Lord *Russel*, *Paget* (made also a Lord) and
 some others, to settle the Treaty of Peace.
 They were order'd in the first Place, to ask the
 Delivery of the *Scotish* Queen, and Payment
 of the perpetual Pension. But the *French*
 would not treat about these; their Master in-
 tended to marry the *Scotish* Queen to the Dau-
 phin, and would not be tributary to another
 Prince, or pay a perpetual Pension. But they
 offer'd a Sum of Money for *Bulloign*. Things
 stuck a little at the razing the Fortifications
 in *Aldernay* and *Sark*, two small Islands in the
 Channel, which the *French* desired; and at
 the delivering up of *Roxborough* and *Aymouth*
 to the *Scots*, then in the Hands of the *English*.
 The Council ordered their Commissioners to
 insist on these Things, and to offer to break up
 their Conference rather than yield to them;
 but if that had no Effect on the *French*, then
 they were to let them go. In Conclusion, the
English, after a Protestation, by which they
 reserved to the King all the Rights that he
 had at the Beginning of the War, agreed to
 deliver up *Bulloign*, and all the Places about
 it, and all the Ordinance in it, except what
 the *English* had cast, for which the *French*
 were to pay them Four hundred thousand
 Crowns. All the Places which the *English*
 had in *Scotland* were to be delivered up, and

1550.

the Forts razed; and six Hostages were to be given on both Sides for the Performance, who were the Sons of Men of the greatest Quality: So was the Peace fully concluded, and the Articles were duly perform'd on both Sides. The Council approved of the Proceedings of their Plenipotentiaries, only the Earl of *Warwick*, who had declared himself much against the Delivery of *Bulloign*, pretended Sickness, and was absent.

At this Time the Earl of *Warwick* ordered a Review to be made of all Accounts, and brought in much Money by the Fines of those who were accused for Malversation. The Earl of *Arundel* was fined in 12000 *l.* Sir *James Thynne* in 6000 *l.* and many others of the Protector's Creatures in 3000 *l.*

In February *Ridley* was made Bishop of *Ridley London* and *Westminster*, 1000 *l.* a Year of Rents of the See were assigned him, with License to hold two Prebends. *Reps*, Bishop of *Norwich*, resigned; upon which *Therleby*, Bishop of *Westminster*, was removed to *Norwich*; and it was intended to re-unite *London* and *Westminster*, but tho' they still remained different Sees, yet they were now put under the same Man's Care: His Patent was not during Measure, but during Life. It does not appear that there was any Design in this Reign to put down Cathedrals; for tho' *Westminster*, *Worcester* and *Durham* were suppressed, the former being united, one to *London*, and the other to *Worcester*; and the latter being divided in two, yet in none of these the Dean and Chapter Lands fallen.

Gardi-

Book II.

1550.
Gardiner's
Process.

Gardiner continued still in Prison. During the Protector's Ministry, some Privy-Counsellors dealt with him, to sue to him for Mercy, and to declare whether he approved the new Service, or not: But he said, he had done no Fault, and so would not ask Pardon; nor would he declare his Opinion while he continued a Prisoner, lest his Enemies might say, he did it only to be set at Liberty. Upon the Protector's Fall, he expected he should have been discharged of his Imprisonment; and thought it so near, that he made a Farewell Feast to the Officers in the *Tower*. Some Privy-Counsellors were sent to him with Articles, acknowledging former Offences, approving the Book of *Common-Prayer*, and asserting the King's Power when he was under Age, and his Authority to reform Abuses in the Church, and that the six Articles were justly abrogated. He signed the Paper, only he wrote on the Margin, that he could not confess former Offences; for he was not convinced of any Fault he had done. Upon this, it was believed that he was to be quickly let out; but another Message was sent him, that he must confess that he had been justly punished: This he plainly refused to do, and said, he would never defame himself. *Ridley* was sent to him with a new Paper, in which the Confession of his Faults was more softly worded: The rest related to the Pope's Power, the suppressing the Abbies and Chantries, Pilgrimages, Masses, Images, the Adoration of the Sacrament, Communion in both Kinds, the abolishing the old Books of Service, and setting up the new; with the Book of Ordinations,

ations, and the Lawfulness of a married Clergy: But he said, he would sign no more Articles while he continued in Prison; and desired that he might be either tried, or set at Liberty; for he asked not Mercy but Justice: And being called before the Council, and required to sign those Articles, he gave them the same Answer: He said some of these Points were already settled by Law, others were not so, and in these he was at Liberty to do as he pleased. Upon this, his Bishoprick was sequestred, and he was required to conform himself within three Months, under Pain of Deprivation; and the Freedom of the *Tower* was denied him. All this was much censured, as contrary to Law, and the Liberties of *English-Men*; and it was said, it favoured more of a Court of Inquisition, than of a legal Way of proceeding. The Canon-law was not yet rectified; so the King being in the Pope's room, this way, *ex Officio*, was excused, as grounded upon the Forms of the Spiritual Courts.

There was a Discourse on foot of a Marriage between the King and a Daughter of *France*, which grieved the Reformers, who rather wished him to marry *Maximilian's* Daughter, who was believed to favour the Reformation, and was esteemed one of the best Men of the Age. Old *Latimer* preached at Court, and warned the King of the ill Effects of bad Marriages, which were made up only as Bargains, without Affection between the Parties; and that they occasioned so much Whoring, and so many Divorces: He also complained of the Luxury and Vanity of the Age, and many called

Book II.

1550.

Latimer
preaches
at Court.

Book II. called *Gospellers*, who were concerned for nothing but Abbey and Chantry Lands; he also pressed the setting up a primitive Discipline in the Church. He preached this as his last Sermon, and so used great Freedom: He complained that the King's Debts were not paid, and yet his Officers grew vastly rich: He prayed the King not to seek his Pleasures too much, and charged all about him to be faithful to him.

Hooper made Bishop of *Glocester*, has Scruples concerning the Vestments.

The See of *Glocester* fell vacant, and *Hooper* was named to it; upon which the Heats concerning Things indifferent, that have since that Time so fatally rent the Church, had their first Rise. He had some Scruples about the Episcopal Vestments, and thought that all those Garments having been consecrated with much Superstition, were to be reckon'd among the Elements condemned by *St. Paul*. But *Ridley* justify'd the Use of them, and said, the Elements condemned by *St. Paul*, were only the *Jewish* Ceremonies; which tho' the Apostles condemned, when they were impos'd as necessary, (for that imported that the *Mosaical* Law was not yet abrogated, and that the *Messiah* was not come) yet they themselves used them at other Times, to gain upon the *Jews* by that Compliance. And if Apostles did such Things to gain them, Subjects ought much more to obey the Laws in Matters indifferent; and superstitious Consecrations was as good an Argument for throwing down all the Churches, as for laying aside those Habits. *Cranmer* desired *Bucer's* Opinion concerning the Lawfulness of those Habits, and the Obligation lying on

Subjects to obey the Laws about them. His Opinion was, that every Creature of God was good, and that no former Abuse could make a Thing indifferent in it self, become unlawful: He thought antient Customs ought not to be lightly changed, and that there might be a good Use made of those Garments; that they might well express the Purity and Candor that became all who ministred in Holy things; and that it was a Sin to disobey the Laws in such Matters. Yet since those Garments had been abused to Superstition, and were like to become a Subject of Contention, he wished they might be taken away by Law; and that Ecclesiastical Discipline, and a more compleat Reformation might be set up; and that a Stop might be put to the robbing of Churches; otherwise they might see in the present State of *Germany*, a dreadful Prospect of that which *England* ought to look for. He also wrote to the same Effect to *Hooper*, and wished that all good Men would unite against the greater Corruptions, and then lesser Abuses would easily be redressed. *Peter Martyr* did also deliver his Opinion to the same Purpose, and was much troubled at *Hooper's* Stiffness, and at such Contests among the Professors of the Religion. *Hooper* was suspended from teaching; but the Earl of *Warwick* wrote to *Canterbury* to dispense with him in that Matter: he answered, that while the Law continued in Force, he could not do it without incurring *Premunire*. Upon that, the King wrote to him, allowing him to do it, and dispensing with the Law; yet this Matter was not settled till a Year after. *John a Lasco*, with some

Germans

Book II. *Germans* of the *Helvetian* Confession, came this Year into *England*, being driven out of *Germany* by the Persecution there. They were erected by Letters Patents into a Corporation, and a *Lasco* was their Superintendent: He being a Stranger, meddled too much in *English* Affairs, and wrote both against the Habits, and against Kneeling in the Sacrament. *Polidore Virgil* was this Year suffered to go out of *England*, and still to hold the Preferments he had in it. *Poinet* was made Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and *Coverdale* Coadjutor to *Vesey* in *Exeter*.

A Review
of the
*Common-
Prayer-
Book*.

There was now a Design set on foot for a Review of the *Common-Prayer-Book*: In order to which, *Bucer's* Opinion was asked. He approved the main Parts of the former Book: he wished there might be not only a Denunciation against scandalous Persons that came to the Sacrament, but a Discipline to exclude them: That the Habits might be laid aside; that no Part of the Communion-Office might be used, except when there was a Sacrament; that Communions might be more frequent; that the Prayers might be said in a plain Voice; that the Sacrament might be put in the People's Hands; and that there might be no Prayers for the Dead, which had not been used in *Justin Martyr's* Time. He advised a Change of some Phrases in the Office of the Communion, that favoured Transubstantiation too much; and that Baptism might be only in Churches: He thought the Hallowing the Water, the Chrism, and the white Garments, were too senical; nor did he approve of abjuring the Devil, nor of the God

father

Father's answering in the Child's Name : He thought Confirmation should be delayed till the Person was of Age, and came sincerely to renew the Baptifmal Covenant. He advised Catechifing every Holiday, both of Children and the Adult ; he difliked private Marriages, extreme Unction, and offering Chrifomes at the Churching of Women ; and thought there ought to be greater Strictnefs ufed in the examining of thofe who came to receive Orders.

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At the fame Time he underftood that the King expected a New-years Gift from him, of a Book written particularly for his own Ufe: So he made a Book for him, concerning the Kingdom of Chrift. He prefs'd much the fetting up of a ftrict Difcipline, the Sanctification of the Lord's Day, the appointing many Days of Fafting, and that Pluralities and Non-refidences might be effectually condemned ; that Children might be Catechifed ; that the Reverence due to Churches might be preferved ; that the Pastoral Function might be reftored to what it ought to be ; that Bifhops might throw off fecular Affairs, and take Care of their Diocefes, and govern them by the Advice of their Presbyters ; that there might be Rural Bifhops over Twenty or Thirty Parifhes, and that Provincial Councils might meet twice a Year ; that Church-lands fhould be reftored, and that a Fourth Part might be affigned to the Poor ; that Marriage without Consent of Parents, fhould be annulled ; that a fecond Marriage might be declared lawful, after a Divorce for Adultery, and fome other Reafons ; that

Bucer offers fome Advices to the King.

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1550.

The

King's

great Un-

derstand-

ing.

Altars put

down.

Care should be taken of the Education of Youth, and for repressing Luxury, that the Law might be reformed; that no Office might be sold, but given to the most deserving; that none should be put in Prison upon slight Offences; and that the Severity of some Laws, as that which made Theft Capital, might be mitigated.

The young King was much pleased with these Advices; and upon that, began himself to form a Scheme for amending many Things that were amiss in the Government, which he wrote with his own Hand, and in a Stile and Manner that had much of a Child in it, though the Thoughts were manly: It appears by it, that he intended to set up a Church-Discipline, and settle a Method for breeding of Youth; but the Discourse is not finished. He also wrote a Journal of every thing that pass'd at Home, and of the News that came from beyond Sea. It has clear Marks of his own composing, as well as it is written with his own Hand. He wrote another Discourse in *French*, being a Collection of all the Places of Scripture against Idolatry, with a Preface before it, dedicated to the Protector.

At this Time *Ridley* made his first Visitation of his Diocese; the Articles upon which he proceeded, were chiefly relating to the Service and Ceremonies that were abolished, whether any continued to use them, or not; and whether there were any Anabaptists, or others, that used private Conventicles. He also carried some Injunctions with him, against some Remainders of the former Superstition, and for exhorting the People to

give Alms, and to come oft to the Sacrament ; and that Altars might be removed, and Tables put in their Room, in the most convenient Place of the Chancel. In the antient Church their Tables were of Wood : But the Sacrament being called a Sacrifice, as Prayers, Alms, and all Holy Oblations were, they came to be called *Altars*. This gave the Rise to the Opinion of expiatory Sacrifices in the Mass, and therefore it was thought fit to take away both the Name and Form of Altars. *Ridley* only advised the Curates to do this ; but upon some Contests arising concerning it, the Council interposed, and required it to be done, and sent with their Order, a Paper of Reasons justifying it, shewing that a Table was more proper than an Altar ; especially, since the Opinion of an expiatory Sacrifice was supported by it. Sermons began to be preached in some Churches on Working-days ; this occasioned great running about, and Idleness ; and raised Emulation among the Clergy : Upon which, the Council ordered them all to be put down. Since that Time there has been great Contention concerning these ; they were factiously kept up by some, and too violently suppressed by others : But now that Matter is quieted, and they are in many Places still continued, to the great Edification of the People. The Government was now free of all Disturbance : The Coin was reformed, and Trade was encouraged. The Faction in the Court seemed also to be extinguished, by a Marriage between the Earl of *Warwick's* Son, and the Duke of *Somerset's* Daughter. The Duke

Book II. of *Lunenburgh* made a Proposition of Marriage with Lady *Mary*, but the Treaty with the Infanta of *Portugal* did still depend, so it was not entertained.

Affairs of *Scotland*, In *Scotland*, the Governor, now made Duke of *Chastelherault* in *France*, was wholly led by his base Brother's Counsels, who, though he was Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, yet he gave himself up, without any Disguise, to his Pleasures, and kept another Man's Wife avowedly: By such Means were the People more easily disposed to hearken to the new Teachers, and prepared for the Changes that followed. The Queen-Mother went to *France*, on Design to procure the Government of *Scotland* to be put in her Hands.

And *Germany*. A Diet was called in *Germany*; the Town of *Magdeburg* was proscribed: But they published a *Manifesto*, expressing their Readiness to obey the Emperor, according to Law; and that they only stood to the Defence of their Liberties, without doing Acts of Hostility to others. It was now visible, that the Design of the late War was to extinguish the Protestant Religion, and to set up Tyranny. It was better to obey God than Man: And they were resolved to put all to Hazard, rather than give up their Religion. Tumults were raised in *Strasburg* and other Towns, when the Mass was again set up; and all *Germany* were disposed to a Revolt, only they wanted a Head. Severe Edicts were also set out in *Flanders*; but the Execution of them was stop'd, at the Intercession of the *English* in *Antwerp*, who were resolved otherwise to remove the Trade to another Place. The Em-

peror press'd the Diet to submit to the Council, when it should be brought back to *Trent*: But *Maurice* of *Saxe*, to whom all the Protestants joined, refused to do it, unless all their former Decrees should be reviewed, and their Divines heard, and admitted to vote; and that the Pope would dispense with the Oath which the Bishops sware to him: Yet he so far insinuated himself into the Emperor's Confidence, that he was made General of the Empire, for the Reduction of *Magdeburg*, and resolved to manage that Matter so as to draw great Advantages from it. The Emperor reckoned that he might well trust him as long as he had *John* Duke of *Saxe* in his Hands: But he had provoked him too much in the Matter of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, his Father-in-law, to repose such Confidence in him; so that this proved a fatal Error to him, by which he lost the Power he had then in *Germany*; and *Maurice* proved too hard for him in Dissimulation, in which he was so great a Master.

The Popish Clergy in *England* did now generally comply to every Change that was made. *Oglerkorp*, afterwards Bishop of *Carlyle*, being informed against as favouring the old Superstition, did under his Hand declare, That he thought the Order of Religion then settled, was nearer the Use of the primitive Church than that which was formerly received, and that he condemned Transubstantiation as a late Invention, and approved the Communion in both Kinds, and the Peoples receiving always with the Priest. *Smith*, who had written against the Marriage of the

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Clergy, and was upon some Complaints put in Prison, being discharged by *Cranmer's* Intercession, wrote a Submission to him, acknowledging the Mistakes he had committed in his Book, and the Archbishop's Gentleness towards him; and wished he might perish, if he did not write sincerely, and called God a Witness against his Soul, if he lyed. *Day*, Bishop of *Chichester*, did also preach a Sermon at *Court* against Transubstantiation. The Principle, by which most of that Party governed themselves was this, They thought they ought to oppose all the Changes, before they were established by Law; yet that being done, that they might afterwards comply with them. *Cranmer* was a moderate and prudent Man, and willing to accept of any thing they offered; reckoning, that whether they acted sincerely or not, yet their Compliance would be a Means to quiet the Nation; he was also of so compassionate a Nature, that he would never drive Things to Extremities, against Men that were grown old in their Errors, and could not be easily weaned from them: Only *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, were such deceitful and cruel Men, that he thought it might be more excusable to make Stretches for ridding the Church of them.

Bucer's
Death.

Martin Bucer died in the Beginning of this Year, of the Stone, and griping of the Guts. He had great Apprehensions of a fatal Revolution in *England*, by Reason of the ill Lives of the People, occasioned chiefly by the Want of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the Neglect of the Pastoral Charge. Orders were sent from the *Court* to *Cambridge*, to bury

bury him with all the publick Honour to his Memory that could be devised. Speeches and Sermons were made both by *Haddon* the University Orator, and *Parker*, and *Redmayn*. The last of these was one of the most extraordinary Men, both for Learning, and a true Judgment of Things, that was in that Time: He had also in many Things differed from *Bucer*, and yet he acknowledged, that there was none alive, of whom he hoped now to learn so much as he had done by his Conversation with him. *Bucer* was inferior to none of all the Reformers in Learning; but superior to most of them in an excellent Temper of Mind, and a great Zeal for preserving the Unity of the Church: A rare Quality in that Age, in which *Melancthon* and he were the most eminent! He had not that Nimbleness of disputing, for which *Peter Martyr* was more admired; and the Popish Doctors took Advantage from that to carry themselves more insolently towards him.

Soon after this, *Gardiner's* Process was put to an End: A Commission was issued out to *Cranmer*, and three Bishops, and some Civilians, to proceed against him, for his Contempt, in refusing to sign the Articles offered to him. He complained, that all that was done against him, was out of Malice; that he had been long imprisoned, and nothing was objected to him; that he was resolved to obey the Laws and Orders of Council, but that he would acknowledge no Fault, not having committed any. The Things objected to him, were, That he refused to set out in

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his Sermon the King's Power when he was under Age, and had affronted the Preachers whom the King had sent to his Diocese; that he had been negligent in executing the King's Injunctions, and refused to confess his Fault, or ask the King's Pardon; and it was said that the Rebellions raised in *England*, might have been prevented, if he had timously set forth the King's Authority: He answered, That he was not required to do it by any Order of Council, but only in a private Discourse; yet Witnesses being examined upon those Particulars, the Delegates proceeded to Sentence of Deprivation against him, notwithstanding his Appeal to the King in Person; and he was appointed to remain in the *Tower*, where he continued till Queen *Mary* discharged him. Nothing was pretended to excuse the Severity of these Proceedings, but that he having taken out a Commission for holding his Bishoprick only during the King's Pleasure, he could not complain when that was intimated to him; and if he had been turned out meerly upon Pleasure, without the Pomp of a Process, the Matter might have been better excused. *Poinet* was put in his See, and had 2000 Marks in Lands assign'd him for his Subsistence. *Storr* was put in *Rockester*; and upon *Vesey's* Resignation, *Coverdale* was made Bishop of *Exeter*. The Scruples that *Hooper* made, were now so far satisfied, that he was content both to be consecrated in his Vestments, and to use them when he preached before the King, or in his Cathedral; but he was dispensed with upon other Occasions.

By

By this Time the greater Number of the Bishops were Men that heartily received the Reformation : So it was resolved now to proceed to a Sacrament of the Doctrine of the Church : Many thought that should have been done in the first Place ; but *Cranmer* judged it was better to proceed slowly in that Matter : He thought the Corruptions in the Worship were to be begun with, since while they remained, the Addresses to God were so defiled, that thereby all People were involved in unlawful Compliances. He thought speculative Opinions might come last, since Errors in them were not of such ill Consequence : And he judged it necessary to lay these open, in many Treatises and Disputes, before they should proceed to make Alterations, that so all People might be before-hand satisfied with what should be done. So now they framed a Body of Articles, which contained the Doctrine of the Church of *England* : They were cast into forty two Articles, and afterwards some few Alterations being made in the Beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, they were reduced to Thirty nine ; which being in all People's Hands, need not be much enlarged on.

In the antient Church, there was at first a great Simplicity in their Creeds ; but afterwards, upon the breaking out of Heresies concerning the Person of Christ, equivocal Senses being put on the Terms formerly used, new ones, that could not be so easily eluded, were invented. A Humour of explaining Mysteries by Similies and Niceties, and of passing Anathema's on all that did not receive these, did

Book II. much over-run the Church ; and tho' the Council of *Ephesus* decreed, that no new Additions should be made to the Creed, yet that did not restrain those who loved to make all their own Conceits be received as Parts of the Faith. The Fathers were carried too far with this Curiosity ; but the Schoolmen went farther, and spun the Thread much finer ; they condemned every thing that differed from their Notions, as heretical. Many of the *Lutherans* had retained much of that Peremptoriness, and were not easy to those who differed from them. In *England* great Care was taken to frame these Articles in the most comprehensive Words, and the greatest Simplicity possible.

Changes
made in
the Com-
mon
Prayer-
Book.

When this was settled, they went about the Review of the *Common Prayer-book*. In the daily Service, they added the Confession and Absolution, that so the Worship of God might begin with a grave and humble Confession conceived in general Words ; but to which every one ought to join a secret Confession of his particular Sins : After which a solemn Declaration of the Mercy of God, according to the Terms of the Gospel, was to be pronounced by the Priest. This was thought much better than the giving Absolution in such formal Words, as, *I absolve thee* ; which begat in the undiscerning Vulgar an Opinion that the Priest had Authority to pardon Sin, and that made them think of nothing so much as how to purchase it at his Hands : And it proved, as it was managed, the greatest Engine that ever was for overthrowing the Power of Religion. In the Communion-Service, they ordered a Recital of the Com-
mandments,

mandments, with a short Devotion between every one of them, judging that till Church-Discipline were restored, nothing could more effectually awaken such as came to receive it, to a due Seriousness in it, than the hearing the Law of God thus pronounced, with those Stops in it, to make the People reflect on their Offences against it. The Chrism, the Use of the Cross in consecrating the Eucharist, Prayers for the Dead, and some Expressions that favoured Transubstantiation, were laid aside; and the Book was put in the same Order and Method in which it continues to this Day, excepting only some inconsiderable Variations that have been made since. A Rubrick was added to the Office of the Communion, explaining the Reason of kneeling in it, that it was only as an Expression of due Reverence and Gratitude, upon the receiving so particular a Mark of the Favour of God; but that no Adoration was intended by it, and that they did not think Christ was corporally present in it. In Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, this was left out; that such as conformed in other Things, but still retained the Belief of the corporal Presence, might not be offended at such a Declaration. It was again put in the Book, upon his present Majesty's Restauration, for removing the Scruples of those who excepted to that Posture. Christ did at first institute this Sacrament, in that ordinary Table-gesture. *Moses* appointed the Paschal-Lamb to be eaten by the People standing, with Staves in their Hands, they being then to begin their March; yet that was afterwards changed by the *Jews*, who did eat it

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King
Charles
the Se-
cond.

Book II. it in the Posture common at Meals, which our Saviour's Practice justifies: So though Christ in his State of Humiliation did institute this Ordinance, in so familiar a Posture, yet it was thought more becoming the Reverence due to him in his Exaltation, to celebrate it with greater Expressions of Humility and Devotion. The antient Christians received it standing, and bowing their Body downward: Kneeling was afterwards used as a higher Expression of devout Worship: But great Difference is to be made between the Adoration practised in the Church of *Rome*, in which, upon lifting up the Host, all fall down and worship, and our being, during the whole Action, in one continued Posture of Devotion. And if the *Jews*, who were more bound up to Ceremonies, made a Change in the Posture, at the Memorial of their Deliverance, without any Warrant mentioned in the Old Testament, it must be acknowledged, that the Christian Church, which is more at Liberty in such Matters, had Authority to make the like Change of the Posture, in this Memorial of Christ's Sufferings. At this Time six of the most eminent Preachers were appointed to wait on the *Court* by Turns, two at a Time; and the other four were sent as itinerant Preachers into all the Counties of *England*, in a Circuit, for supplying the Defects of the Clergy, who were generally very weak and faulty.

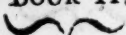
Lady
Mary in
Trouble
for hav-
ing Mass
said.

The Mass said in Lady *Mary's* Chappel was now again challenged. The Court was less afraid of the Emperor's Displeasure than formerly, and so would no longer bear with
so

so publick a Breach of Law : And the Promise they had made being but temporary, and never given in Writing, they thought they were not bound by it. But the Emperor assured her, that he had an absolute Promise for that Priviledge to her. This encouraged her so much, that when the Council wrote to her, she said, she would follow the Catholick Church, and adhere to her Father's Religion. Answer was wrote in the King's Name, requiring her to obey the Law, and not to pretend that the King was under Age, since the late Rebels had justified themselves by that. The Way of Worship then established was also vindicated, as most consonant to the Word of God. But she refused to engage into any Disputes, only she said she would continue in her former Courses : And she was thinking of going out of *England*, insomuch that the Emperor ordered a Ship to lie near the Coast for her Transportation : Which was strange Advice ; for it is probable, if she had gone beyond Sea, she had been effectually shut out from succeeding to the Crown. The Emperor espoused her Quarrel so warmly, that he threatned to make War, if she should be hardly used ; and the Merchants having then great Effects at *Antwerp*, it was not thought fit to give him a Colour for breaking with them, and seizing on these ; so the Council were willing to let the Matter fall, and only advised her to have her Mass privately said : Yet the young King could not be easily induced to yield to that, for he said, *He ought not to connive at Idolatry.* The Council ordered *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Poinet*,

Book II. to satisfy him in it : And they convinced him, that though he ought not to consent to any Sin, yet he was not at all Times obliged to punish it. He burst out in weeping, lamenting his Sister's Obstinacy, and his own Circumstances, that obliged him to comply with such an impious Way of Worship. Dr. *Wotton* was sent over to the Emperor, to convince him that no absolute Promise was ever made: For *Paget* and *Hobbey*, whom the Emperor vouched for it, declared upon Oath, that they made not any but what was temporary; and since the King did not meddle in the Concerns of the Emperor's Family, it was not reasonable for him to interpose in this. The Emperor pretended, that he had promised to her Mother at her Death to protect her, and so he was bound in Honour to take Care of her. But now when the Council were not in such Fear of the Emperor's Displeasure as formerly, they sent to seize on two of her Chaplains, that had said Mass in her House, when she was absent : They kept out of the Way, and she wrote to the Council to stop the Prosecution, and continued to stand upon the Promise made to the Emperor. A long Answer was returned to her by the Council, in which, after the Matter of the Promise was cleared, they urged her with the Absurdity of Prayers in an unknown Tongue, offering the Sacrament for the Dead, and worshipping Images. All the Antients appealed upon all Occasions to the Scriptures ; by these she might easily discover the Errors and Cheats of the old Superstition, that were supported only by false Miracles and lying Stories. They concluded, that they being trusted with the Execution

cution of the Laws, were obliged to proceed equally. *Mallet*, one of the Chaplains, was taken, and she earnestly desired that he might be set at Liberty; but it was denied her. The Council sent for the chief Officers of her House, and required them to let her know the King's Pleasure, that she must have the new Service in her Family; and to give the like Charge to the Chaplains and Servants. This vexed her much, and did almost cast her into Sickneſs: She ſaid, ſhe would obey the King in every Thing in which her Conſcience was not touched; but charged them not to deliver the Council's Meſſage to her Servants. Upon that, the Lord Chancellor *Petre* and *Wingfield* were ſent with the ſame Orders to her; and carried to her a Letter from the King, which ſhe received on her Knees; but when ſhe read it, ſhe caſt the Blame of it on *Cecil*, then Secretary of State. The Chancellor told her, the whole Council were of one Mind, that they could not ſuffer her to uſe a Form of Worſhip againſt Law, and had ordered them to intimate this both to her ſelf and her Family. She made great Proteſtations of Duty to the King; but ſaid, ſhe would die rather than uſe any Form of Worſhip but that which was left by her Father, only ſhe was afraid ſhe was not worthy to ſuffer on ſo good an Account. When the King was of Age, ſhe would obey his Commands in Religion; and though he now knew many Things above his Age, yet as they did not think him yet capable of Matters of War or Policy, ſo much leſs could he judge in Points of Divinity. If her Chaplains reſuſed to ſay Maſs, ſhe could have none, but for the new Service ſhe

Book II.  she was resolved against it; and if it were forced on her, she would leave her House. She desired her Officers might be sent back to her, whom they had put in the *Tower*, for not intimating the Council's Order to her Servants; which had been strange for them to have done when she forbid it. She charged them to use her well for her Father's Sake, who had raised them all out of nothing; she was sick by Reason of their ill Usage; and if she died, she would lay it at their Door. She insisted on the Promise made to the Emperor, who wrote of it to her, and she believed him more than them all: She gave them a Token to be carried to the King, and so dismiss'd them. When they had laid a Charge on her Chaplains and Servants to the same Effect, and were going away, she call'd after them, and desired they would send her Comptroller to her; for she was weary of receiving her Accounts, and examining how many Loaves were made of a Bushel of Meal. Upon this Resolution that she express'd, the Council went no further, only after this, her Mass was said so secretly, that she gave no publick Scandal. From *Coptball*, where this was done, she removed, and lived at *Hunsden*, and thither *Ridley* went to see her. She received him very civilly, and ordered her Officers to entertain him at Dinner: But when he begged Leave to preach before her, she at first blush'd; but being further press'd, she said he might preach in the Parish Church, but neither she nor her Family would be there. He asked her, if she refused to hear the Word of God? She answered, they did not call that God's Word

Word now; that they had called so in her Father's Days: And that in his Time they durst not have said the Things which they then preached. And after some sharp and reproachful Discourse, she dismiss'd him. *Wharton*, one of her Officers, as he conducted him out, made him drink a little, but he reflecting on that, blamed himself for it; for he said, when the Word of God was rejected, he ought to have shaken off the Dust of his Feet, and gone away. The King's Sister *Elizabeth* did in all Things conform to the Laws; for her Mother at her Death recommended her to *Dr. Parker's* Care, who instructed her well in the Principles of the Christian Religion.

The Earl of *Warwick* began now to form The Earl's great Designs of bringing the Crown into his of *Warwick's* Family: The King was alienated from his Sister *Mary*, and the Privy Council had embroiled themselves with her, and so would be easily engaged against her. The Pretence against both the Sisters was the same, that they stood illegitimated by two Sentences in the Spiritual Courts, confirmed in Parliament. So that it would be a Disgrace to the Nation to let the Crown devolve on Bastards: And since the Fears of the Eldest's Revenge made the Council willing to exclude her, the only Reason on which they could ground that, must take Place against the Second likewise. And therefore though the Crown was provided to them both by Act of Parliament and the late King's Will, yet these being founded on an Error that was indispensable, which was the Baseness of their Descent, they

Book II. they ought not to take Place. They being laid aside, the Daughters of the *French* Queen, by *Charles Brandon*, stood next in the Act, and yet it was generally believed that they were Bastards: For it was given out that *Brandon* was secretly married to one *Mortimer*, at the Time that he married the *French* Queen, and that *Mortimer* out-lived her; so that the Issue by her was illegitimate. The sweating Sickness did this Year break out in *England* with such Contagion, that *Eight Hundred* died in one Week of it in *London*; those that were taken with it, were enclined much to sleep, and all that slept died; but if they were kept awake a Day, they did sweat it out. *Charles Brandon's* two Sons by his last Wife, died within a Day, one after another. His eldest Daughter, by the *French* Queen, was married to the Marquess of *Dorset*, a good, but weak Man, and so he was made Duke of *Suffolk*: They had no Sons; their eldest Daughter *Jane Grey* was thought the Wonder of the Age. So the Earl of *Warwick* projected a Match between her and his fourth Son *Guilford*, his three elder Sons being then married: And because the Lady *Elizabeth* was like to stand most in the Way, Care was taken to send her out of *England*, and a Match was treated for her with the King of *Denmark*.

A Treaty for a Marriage to the King.

A splendid Message was sent to *France*, with the Order of the Garter. The Marquess of *Northampton* carried it; three Earls, the Bishop of *Ely*, and five Lords, were sent with him, and above two hundred Gentlemen accompanied them. They were to make a Proposition

position of Marriage for the King with a Book II.
 Daughter of *France*. The Bishop of *Ely*
 made the first Speech, and the Cardinal of
 1551.

Lorrain answered him. It was soon agreed
 on, yet neither Party was to be bound, either
 in Honour or Conscience, till the Lady should
 be of Years to give Consent. A noble Em-
 bassy was sent in Return from *France* to *Eng-
 land*, with the Order of St. *Michael*. They
 desired in their Master's Name the Continu-
 ance of the King's Friendship, and that he
 would not be moved by Rumors that might
 be raised, to break their Alliance. The
 young King answered on the sudden, "That
 Rumours were not always to be believed,
 nor always to be rejected; for it was no less
 vain to fear all Things, than to doubt of
 nothing: If any Differences happened to
 arise, he should be always ready to deter-
 mine them, rather by Reason than by
 Force, so far as his Honour should not be
 thereby diminished." This was thought a
 very extraordinary Answer to be made by one
 of Fourteen on the sudden.

There was at this Time a great Creation of The Duke
 Peers. *Warwick* was made Duke of *Nor-* of *Somer-*
umberland, the Blood of the *Piercies* being *set's Fall*.
 then under an Attainder; *Paulet* was made
 Marquess of *Winchester*; *Herbert* was made
 Earl of *Pembroke*; and a little before this,
Russel had been made Earl of *Bedford*, and
Darcy was made a Lord. There was none so
 likely to take the King out of *Northumber-*
land's Hands, as the Duke of *Somerset*, who
 was beginning to form a new Party about the
 King: So upon some Informations, both the
 Duke

Book II. Duke of *Somerſet* and his Dutcheſs, Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, and ſeveral others, of whom ſome were Gentlemen of Quality, and others were the Duke's Servants, were all committed to the *Tower*. The committing of *Palmer* was to delude the World, for he had betrayed the Duke, and was clapp'd up as a Complice, and then pretended to diſcover a Plot : He ſaid the Duke intended to have raiſed the People, and that *Northumberland*, *Northampton*, and *Pembroke*, having been invited to dine at the Lord *Paget's*, he intended to have ſet on them by the Way, or have killed them at Dinner ; that *Vane* was to have 2000 Men ready ; *Arundel* was to have ſeized on the *Tower*, and all the Gendarmoury were to have been killed. All theſe Things were told the young King with ſuch Circumſtances, that he too eaſily believed them, and ſo was much alienated from his Uncle, judging him guilty of ſo foul a Conſpiracy. It was added by others, that the Duke intended to have raiſed the City of *London* ; one *Crane* confirmed *Palmer's* Teſtimony, and both the Earl of *Arundel* and *Paget* were alſo committed as Complices. On the firſt of *December*, the Duke was brought to his Trial : The Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* was Lord Steward, and

His Trial. 27 Peers ſat to judge him, among whom were the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*. The Particulars charged on him were, A Deſign to ſeize on the King's Perſon, to imprifon the Duke of *Northumberland*, and to raiſe the City of *London*. It ſeemed ſtrange to ſee *Northumberland*

Northumberland sit a Judge, when the Crime objected, was a Design against his Life; for though by the Law of *England* no Peer can be challenged, yet by the Law of Nature no Man can well judge, where he is a Party. The Chancellor, tho' a Peer, was left out, upon Suspicion of a Reconciliation which he was making with the Duke: He was not well skilled in Law, and neither objected to the Indictment, nor desired Council to plead for him, but only answered to Matters of Fact: He denied all Designs to raise the People, or to kill *Northumberland*: If he had talked of it, it was in Passion, without any Intention: And it was ridiculous to think, that he with a small Troop could destroy the Gendarmoury, who were 900. The armed Men he had about him, were only for his own Defence; he had done no Mischief to his Enemies, though it was once in his Power to have done it; and he had surrendered himself without making any Resistance: He desired the Witnesses might be brought Face to Face, and objected many Things to them, chiefly to *Palmer*; but that was not done, and their Depositions were only read. The King's Council pleaded upon the Statute against unlawful Assemblies, that to contrive the Death of Privy Counsellors was also Felony. The material Defence was omitted; for by that Statute those Assemblies were not felonious, except being required to disperse themselves, they had refused to do it; and it does not appear that any such Proclamation had been made in this Case. The Proofs of his raising Rebellion were insufficient, so he was acquitted of Treason, which raised

Book 11. raised a great Shout of Joy, that was heard
 as far as *Charing-cross*; but he was found
 1551. guilty of Felony, for intending to imprison
Northumberland. He carried himself, during
 the Trial, with great Temper; and all the
 Sharpness which the King's Counsel expressed
 in pleading against him, did not provoke
 him to any undecent Passion. But when
 Sentence was given, he sunk a little, and asked
 the three Lords, that were his Enemies, for
 Pardon for his ill Designs against them, and
 made Suit for his Life, and for his Wife and
 Children. It was generally thought, that no-
 thing being found against him, but an Inten-
 tion to imprison a privy Counsellor, that
 never took Effect, one so nearly related to
 the King would not have been put to Death
 on that Account. It was therefore necessary
 to raise in the King a great Aversion to him.
 So a Story was brought to the King, as if in
 the *Tower* he had confessed a Design to em-
 ploy some to assassinate those Lords; and the
 Persons named for that wicked Service were
 also persuaded to take it on them. This
 being believed by the King, he took no more
 Care to preserve him: Assassination being a
 Crime of so barbarous a Nature, that it pos-
 sessed him with a Horror, even to his Uncle,
 when he thought him guilty of it: And there-
 fore he was given up to his Enemies Rage.
Stanhope, *Partridge*, *Arundel*, and *Vane*,
 were tried next; the two first were not much
 pitied, for they had made a very ill Use of
 their Interest in the Duke during his Great-
 ness: The other two were much lamented.
Arundel's Jury was shut up a whole Day and

1551.

Night, and those that were for the Acquittal, yielding to the Fury of the rest, only that they might serve their own Lives, and not be harmed. *Vane* had done great Services in the Wars, and carried himself with a Magnanimity that was thought too extravagant: They were all condemned, and *Partridge* and he were hanged, the other two were beheaded.

The Lord Chancellor was become a secret Friend to the Duke of *Somerset*, and that was thus discovered: He went aside once to Council, and wrote a Note, giving Notice of what was then in Agitation against him, and endorsed it only for the Duke, and sent it to the Tower; but his Servant not having particular Directions, fancied it was to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and not to *Somerset*, and carried it to him. He, to make *Northumberland* his Friend, sent this to him; *Rich* understanding the Mistake in which his Servant had fallen, prevented the Discovery, and went immediately to the King, and pretending some Indisposition, desired to be discharged; and upon that took his Bed, so it seemed too barbarous to do any thing further against him; only the Great Seal was taken from him, and was put in the Bishop of *Ely's* Hands. This was much censured; for all the Reformers had inveighed severely against the secular Employments and high Places, which Bishops had in the Church of *Rome*; since these they were taken wholly off from the Cure of Souls, or those spiritual Exercises that might dispose them for it, and assumed by the Name and Garb of Churchmen, to give their Ambition and Covetousness, and by

Book II. by this the People were much prejudiced against them; so upon *Goodrick's* Advancement, this was turned against the Reformers. It was said, they only complained of those Things when their Enemies enjoyed them, but changed their Minds as soon as they fell into the Hands of their Friends. But *Goodrick* was no Pattern, he complied only with the *Reformation*, but turned when *Queen Mary* succeeded. Christ said, *Who made me a Judge?* *St. Paul* left it as a Rule, *That a Man that warreth, entangleth himself with the Affairs of this Life.* This Saint *Cyprian* and the other Fathers understood as a perpetual Prohibition of Church men's meddling with secular Matters, and condemned it severely. Many Canons were made against it in Provincial Councils, and a very full one was decreed at *Chalcedon*: But as the Bishops of *Rome* and *Alexandria* grew rich and powerful, they established a Sort of secular Principality in the Church; and other Sees as they encreas'd in Wealth, affected to imitate them. *Charles the Great* encouraged them every where, and gave great Territories and Privileges to the Church; upon which the Bishops and Abbots were not only admitted to a Share in the publick Counsels, by Virtue of their Lands, but to all the chief Offices of the State; and then Ecclesiastical Preferments were given to Courtiers, as Rewards for their Services: And by these Means the Clergy came very corrupt; Merit and Learning became no more the Standards by which Men were esteemed or promoted; and Bishops were only considered, as a Sort of great Men,

went in a peculiar Habit, and on great Festivities were obliged to say Mass, or perform some other Solemnities; but they wholly abandoned the Souls committed to their Care, and left the Spiritual Part of their Callings to their Vicars and Arch-deacons, who made no other Use of it, but to squeeze the inferior Clergy, and to oppress the People: And it was not easy to persuade the World, that those Bishops did much aspire to Heaven, who were so indecently thrusting themselves into the Courts of Princes, and meddling so much in Matters that did not belong to them, that they neglected those for which they were to account to God.

On the 22d Day of *January*, the Duke of *Somerset* was executed at *Tower-hill*: The Substance of his Speech, was a Vindication of himself "from all ill Designs; he confessed his private Sins, and acknowledged the Mercies of God, in granting him Time to repent: He declared that he had acted sincerely in all he did in Matters of Religion while he was in Power; and rejoiced for his being instrumental in so good a Work: He exhorted the People to live suitably to the Doctrine received among them, otherwise they might look for great Judgments from God." As he was going there was an unaccountable Noise heard, which so frightened the People, that many run away. Sir *Anthony Brown* came up riding towards the Scaffold, which made the Spectators think that he brought a Pardon, and occasioned great Shouts of Joy; but they saw their Mistakes; so the Duke went

The Duke of *Somerset's* Execution.

Book II. on in his Speech: "He declared his chearful
 1551. " Submission to the Will of God, and defi-
 " red them likewise to acquiesce in it; he
 " prayed for the King and his Council, and
 " exhorted the People to continue obedient
 " to them; and asked the Forgiveness of all
 " whom at any Time he had offended." Then
 he turned to his private Devotions, and fitted
 himself for the Blow, which upon the Signal
 given, severed his Head from his Body.

He was a Man of extraordinary Virtues,
 of great Candor, and eminent Piety: He was
 always a Promoter of Justice, and a Patron
 of the oppressed. He was a better Captain
 than a Counsellor, and was too easy and
 open-hearted, to be so cautious as such Times
 and such Employments required. It was
 generally believed, all this Conspiracy, for
 which he and the other four suffered, was
 only a Forgery: All the other Complices
 were quickly discharged, and *Palmer*, the
 chief Witness, became *Northumberland's*
 particular Confident: And the indiscreet
 Words which the Duke of *Somerſet* had spo-
 ken, and his gathering armed Men about
 him, was imputed to *Palmer's* Artifices, who
 had put him in Fear of his Life, and so made
 him do and say those Things for which he
 lost it. His four Friends did all end their
 Lives with the most solemn Protestations of
 their Innocence; and the whole Matter was
 look'd on as a Contrivance of *Northumber-*
land's, by which he lost the Affections of the
 People entirely. Some reflected on the As-
 tairder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl
 of *Surrey's* Death, occasioned likewise by a
 Conspiracy

1551.

Conspiracy of their own Servants, in which it was thought this Duke was too active. He was also much censured for his Brother's Death. He had raised much of his Estate out of the Spoils of Bishops Lands, and his Palace out of the Ruins of some Churches; and to this some added a Remark, that he did not claim the Benefit of his Clergy, which would have saved him; and since he had spoiled the Church, they imputed it to a particular Judgment on him, that he forgot. But in this they were mistaken; for in the Act by which he was condemned, it was provided, that no Clergy should purge that felony.

In *Germany*, *Maurice* began this Year to form a great Design: He entered into Correspondences, not only with the Princes of *Germany*, but also with *France* and *England*; and having given Intimations of his Designs for the Liberty of *Germany*, and the Security of the Protestant Religion, to some that had great Credit at *Magdeburg*, he brought that Town to a Surrender, and having made himself sure of the Army, he quartered his troops in the Territories of the Popish Princes; by which they were all much alarmed, so that the Emperor did not apprehend the Danger till it was too late for him. A Quarrel arose in between the Pope and the King of *France*, about *Parma*: The Pope threatened, that King would not restore *Parma*, he would take *France* from him. Upon that, the Council being now again open at *Trent*, the King of *France* protested against it, and declared that he would call a National Council.

Book II. cil in *France*, and would not obey nor receive their Decrees. The Emperor still pressed the
 1551. *Germans* to send Ambassadors and Divines to *Trent*. The Council began with the Point about the Eucharist, and it was ordered that these should be handled according to the Scriptures and antient Authors. The *Italians* did not like this, and said the bringing many Quotations was only an Act of Memory, and that Way would give the *Lutherans* great Advantages: The sublime Speculations of the Schools, together with their Terms, were much safer Weapons to deal with. A safe Conduct was demanded from the Council, for the Emperor's Conduct was not thought sufficient; since at *Constance*, *John Huss*, and *Jerome of Prague* were burn'd, though they had the Emperor's safe Conduct. The Council of *Basil* had granted a very full one to the *Bohemians*, so the *Lutherans* demanded one in the same Form; but though one was granted, yet it was in many Things short of that. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* sent an Ambassador to *Trent*, who made a general Speech of the Respect his Master had for them. The Legates answered, and thanked him for submitting to their Decrees, of which the Ambassador had not said a Word; but when he expostulated about it, the Legates said, they answered him according to that he ought to have said, and not to that he did say. The Council decreed the Manner of Christ's Presence to be ineffable; and yet added, that Transubstantiation was a fit Term for it; for that was a Notion as unconceivable as any that could be thought on. Then they decreed

1551.

the Necessity of auricular Confession, that thereby Priests might keep a Proportion between Penances and Sins, which was thought a Mockery; for the Trade of slight Penances, and easy Absolutions for the greatest Sins, shewed there was no Care taken to adjust the one to the other. The Ambassador of the Duke of *Wirtemberg* came, and moved for a Safe-conduct to their Divines to come and maintain their Doctrine: The Legates answered, they would enter into no Disputes with them; but if they came with an humble Mind, and proposed their Scruples, they would satisfy them. Ambassadors from some Towns arrived at *Trent*, and those sent by the Duke of *Saxe* were on their Way; upon which, the Emperor ordered his Agents to gain Time, and hinder the Council to proceed in their Decisions till those were heard; but all he could prevail in, was, that the Article concerning the Communion in both Kinds, was postponed till they should come.

The Day after the Duke of *Somerset's* Execution, a Session of Parliament was assembled. The first Act they pass'd, was about the Common-Prayer-Book, as it was now amended: To it only one Earl, two Bishops and two Lords dissented. The Book was appointed to be every where received after *Albanelles* text. The Bishops were required to proceed by the Censures of the Church, against such as came not to it: They also authorized the Book of Ordinations, and enacted the same Penalties against Offenders, that were in the Act for the former Book three Years before. The Papists took Occasion, on the

1552.

A Session of Parliament.

Book II.

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Changes now made in the Book, to say, that the new Doctrines and Ways of Worship changed as fast as the Fashions did. It was answered, that it was no Wonder if Corruptions, which had been creeping in for a Thousand Years, were not all discovered, and thrown out at once; and since they had been every Age making Additions of new Ceremonies, it might be excused, if the purging them out was done by such easy Degrees. The Book was not to be received till *All-hallows*, because it was hoped between that and then the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws would have been finished. A Bill concerning Treasons pass'd with only one Dissent: It was much oppos'd in the House of Commons; for the multiplying of Treason is always look'd on as a Severity in the Government. One Bill was rejected, but another was agreed on: "If any called the King
 " or his Successors, named in the Statute of
 " 35 *Hen. VIII.* Heretick, Tyrant, or other
 " opprobrious Words, he was for the first
 " Offence to be punished with a Forfeiture
 " of Goods and Chattels, for the second with
 " a *Premunire*, and the third Offence was
 " made Treason: But if it was done in Print
 " ing or Writing, the first Offence was
 " Treason. None were to be prosecuted for
 " Words, but within three Months: And
 " two Witnesses were made necessary, who
 " should aver their Depositions to the Parties
 " Face." This seems to relate to the Proceedings against the Duke of *Somerset*, in which the Witnesses did not appear, so that he lost the Advantage of cross examining them: And

man

many Times Innocence and Guilt discover themselves, when the Parties are confronted.

Another Law pass'd for Holy-days and Fasts.

"No Days were to be esteemed *Holy* in their

"own Nature, but by Reason of those Holy

"Duties which ought to be done in them,

"for which they were dedicated to the Service

"of God. Days were esteemed to be dedica-

"ted only to the Honour of God, even those

"in which the Saints were commemorated.

"*Sundays*, and the other Holy-days were

"to be religiously observed, and the Bishops

"were to proceed to Censures against Offend-

"ers, only Labourers or Fisher-men, in Case

"of Necessity, might work on them: The

"Eves before them were to be Fasts, and

"Abstinence from Flesh was enacted, both

"in *Lent*, and on *Fridays* and *Saturdays*."

This Liberty to Tradesmen to work on

these Days was abused to a publick Profana-

tion of them; but the stricter Clauses in the

Act were little regarded. An Act pass'd, im-

powering Church-wardens to gather Collecti-

ons for the Poor, and the Bishops to proceed

against such as refused to contribute; which

though it was a Bill that taxed the People,

yet had its first Rise in the House of Lords.

A Bill was pass'd by the Lords, but rejected

by the Commons, for securing the Clergy

from falling under the Lash of a *Premunire*

by Ignorance; and that they ought to be first

prohibited by the King's Writ, and not be

quod, unless they continued, after that, stiff

in their Disobedience. An Act pass'd for the

Marriage of the Clergy; four Earls and six

Lords dissenting from it: "That whereas

Book II. " the former Act about it was thought only
 " a Permission of it, as some other unlawful
 1552. " Things were connived at; upon which the
 " Wives and Children of the Clergy were
 " reproachfully used, and the Word of God
 " was not heard with due Reverence; there-
 " fore their Marriages were declared good
 " and valid." The Marquis of *Northampton*
 procured an Act, confirming his second Mar-
 riage; and that occasioned another to be
 proposed in the House of Lords, That no
 Man might put away his Wife, and marry
 another, unless he were first divorced; but
 it was laid aside by the Commons. The Bi-
 shoprick of *Westminster* was re-united to
London, only the Collegiate Church was still
 continued.

An Act
 against U- a Law made 37 *Hen. VIII.* " That none might
 fury. " take above 20 *per Cent.* All Usury, or Pro-
 " fit for Money lent, was condemned, as
 " contrary to the Word of God, and Trans-
 " gressors were to be imprisoned, and fined
 " at Pleasure. This has been since that Time
 repealed, and several Regulations have been
 made of the Gain by lent Money, which is
 now reduced to 6 *per Cent.* The Prohibiti-
 ons of Usury by *Moses* have been thought
 Moral, others have believed that they were
 founded only on the equal Division of the
 Land; and since it was then lawful to take
 Usury of a Stranger, they have inferred that
 the Law was not moral, otherwise it must
 be of perpetual Obligation; It was also a
 great Incitement to Industry not to lend upon
 Profit, and it made every Man lay out his Mo-
 ney

ney in some Way of Advantage; and their Neighbourhood to *Tyre* and *Sidon* gave them a quick Vent of their Manufacture, without which it is not easy to imagine how such vast Numbers could have lived in so narrow a Country: So that these Laws seem'd to be only judiciary. It was thought at first suitable to the Brotherly-kindness that ought to be among Christians, to lend without Gain; but at last Canons were made against taking Usury, and it was put among the reserved Cases. Mortgages were an Invention to avoid that, for the Use was paid as the Rent of the Land mortgaged, and not of the Money lent. Inventions also were found for those who had no Land to mortgage, to make such Bargains that Gain was made of the Money, and yet not in the Way of Usury. These were Tricks only to deceive People; and it is not easy to shew how the making such a Gain as holds Proportion to the Value of Land, is immoral in it-self; if the Rule settled by Law is not exceeded, and Men deal not unmercifully with those, who by inevitable Accidents are disabled from making Payment. Another Bill was pass'd against Simony, the reserving Pensions out of Benefices, and granting Advowsons while the Incumbent was yet alive, but it had not Royal Assent. Simony had been oft complain'd of, and many Laws and Canons have been made against it; but new Contrivances are still found out to elude them all; and it is a Disease that will still hang on the Church, as long as Covetousness and Ambition ferment so strongly in the Minds of Church-men.

Book II.

1552.
A Repeal
of the
Settle-
ment of
the Duke
of *Somer-*
set's E-
state.

A Bill was sent to the House of Commons, signed by the King, repealing the Settlement of the Duke of *Somerſet's* Estate, 23 *Hen. VIII.* made in Favour of his Children by his ſecond Wife, to exclude the Children by his firſt, of whom are deſcended the *Seymours* of *Devonſhire*; which ſome imputed to a Jealouſy he had of his firſt Wife, and others aſcribed it to the Power his ſecond Wife had over him. But the Commons were very unwilling to void a Settlement confirmed in Parliament, and ſo for fifteen Days it was debated: A new Bill was deviſed, and that was much altered, and the Bill was not finiſhed till the Day before the Diſſolution of the Parliament. The Lords added a Proviſo, confirming the Duke of *Somerſet's* Attainder; but that was caſt out by the Commons. Some Writings had been ſealed with Relation to a Marriage between the Earl of *Hartford*, the Duke's Son, and the Earl of *Oxford's* Daughter; and the Lords ſent down a Bill voiding theſe; but upon a Diviſion in the Houſe of Commons, 68 were for it, and 69 were againſt it; ſo it was caſt out. The Houſe was now thin, when we find but 137 Members in it: But that is one of the Effects of a long Parliament: Many grow infirm, and many keep out of the Way on Deſign; and thoſe who at their firſt Election were the Representatives of the People, after they have ſat long, become a Cabal of Men, that purſue their own Interests more than the publick Service.

Tonſall
is imprif-
oned.

Tonſall Biſhop of *Durham*, upon ſome Informations, was put in Priſon in the former Year. The Duke of *Northumberland* intend-

ed to erect a great Principality for his Family in the North ; and the Accession of the Jurisdiction of the County *Palatine*, which is in that See, seemed so considerable, that he resolved to ruin *Tonstall*, and so make Way for that. He complied in all the Changes that were made, though he had protested against them in Parliament ; he wrote also for the corporal Presence, but with more Eloquence than Learning : He was a candid and moderate Man, and there was always a good Correspondence between *Cranmer* and him. And now when the Bill was put in against him, he opposed it, and protested against it, by which he absolutely lost the Duke of *Northumberland* : But all the Popish complying Bishops went along with it. There were some Depositions read in the House of Lords to justify it ; but when the Bill with these was sent down to the House of Commons, they resolved to put a Stop to that Way of condemning Men without hearing them : So they sent a Message to the Lords, that he and his Accusers might be heard Face to Face ; and that not being done, they let the Bill fall. By these Indications, it appeared that the House of Commons had little Kindness for the Duke of *Northumberland*. Many of them had been much obliged to the Duke of *Somerſet* : So it was resolved to have a new Parliament ; and this which had sat almost five Years, was on the 15th of *April* dissolved.

A Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws

The Convocation did confirm the Articles of Religion that had been prepared the former Year ; and thus was the Reformation of Worship prepared.

Book II.

1552.

Worship and Doctrine now brought to such Perfection, that since that Time there has been very little Alteration made in these. But another Branch of it was yet unfinished, and was now under Consultation, touching the Government of the Church, and the Rules of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Two Acts had passed in the former Reign, and one in this, empowering Thirty two to revise all the Laws of the Church, and digest them into a Body. King *Henry* issued out a Commission, and the Persons were named, who made some Progress in it, as appears by some of *Cranmer's* Letters to him. In this Reign it had been begun several Times; but the Changes in the Government made it be laid aside. Thirty two were found to be too many for preparing the first Draught, so eight were appointed to make it ready for them: These were *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, *Cox* and *Peter Martyr*, *Trakeron* and *Taylor*, and *Lucas* and *Gosnold*; two Bishops, two Divines, two Civilians, and two common Lawyers; but it was generally believed, that *Cranmer* drew it all himself, and the rest only corrected what he designed. *Haddon* and *Cheek* were employed to put it in *Latin*, in which they succeeded so well, and arrived at so true a Purity in the *Roman* Stile, that it looks like a Work of the best Ages of that State, before their Language was corrupted with the Mixture of barbarous Terms and Phrases, with which all the latter Writings were filled; but none were more nauseously rude than the Books of the Canon Law. The Work was cast into fifty one Titles; perhaps it was designed to bring

near the Number of the Books, into which Justinian digested the Roman Law. The
 finished it, and offered it to the Thirty
 who divided themselves into four Classes ;
 every one was to offer his Corrections, and
 when it had pass'd through them all, it was
 to be offered to the King for his Confirmati-
 on ; but the King died before it was quite
 finished, nor was it ever afterwards taken up :
 Yet I shall think it no useless Part of this
 Work, to give an Account of what was in-
 tended to be done in this Matter, as well as I
 state what was done in other Things.

The first Title of it was concerning the The
 Catholick Faith : It was made Capital to de- Heads of
 the Christian Religion. The Books of it.
 Scripture were reckoned up, and the Apocry-
 pha left out. The four first General Coun-
 cils were received, but both Councils and
 others were to be submitted to, only as they
 agreed with the Scriptures. The second enu-
 merates and condemns many Heresies; extract-
 ed out of the Opinions of the Church of
 Rome, and the Tenets of the Anabaptists :
 and among others, those who excused their
 Lives, by the Pretence of Predestination,
 were reckoned up. 3. The Judgment of Here-
 sy was to lie in the Bishop's Court, except in
 exempted Places. Persons suspected might be
 required to purge themselves ; and those who
 were convicted, were to abjure and do Pe-
 nance ; but such as were obstinate, were de-
 clared infamous, and not to have the Benefit
 of the Law, or of making Testaments ; and
 all capital Proceedings for Heresy were
 laid aside. 4. Blasphemy against God was to
 be

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be punished as obstinate Herefy. 5. The Sacraments; and other Parts of the Pastoral Charge were to be decently performed. 6. All Magick, Idolatry, or Conjuring, was to be punished arbitrarily, and in Case of Obstinacy, with Excommunication. 7. Bishops were appointed once a Year to call all their Clergy together, to examine them concerning their Flocks; and itinerant Preachers were to be often employed for visiting such Precincts as might be put under their Care. 8. All Marriages were to be after asking of Banns, and to be annulled, if not done according to the Book of Common-Prayer. Corrupters of Virgins were to marry them; or if that could not be done, to give them the third Part of their Goods, and suffer corporal Punishment. Marriages made by Force, or without Consent of Parents, were declared null. Polygamy was forbid, and Mothers were required to suckle their Children. 9. The Degrees of Marriage were settled according to the *Levitical* Law, but spiritual Kindred was to be no Bar. 10. A Clergyman guilty of Adultery, was to forfeit his Goods and Estate to his Wife and Children, or to some pious Use; and to be banished or imprisoned during Life: A Layman guilty of it was to forfeit the half, and to be banished or imprisoned during Life: Wives that were guilty, were to be punished in the same Manner. The innocent Party might marry again after a Divorce. Desertion, or mortal Enmity, or the constant Perverseness of a Husband might induce a Divorce; but little Quarrels nor a perpetual Disease might not do it.

and the Separation from Bed and Board, except during a Trial, was never to be allowed. Book II.

1. Patrons were charged to give Presentations without making Bargains; to choose the fittest Persons, and not to make Promises till the Livings were vacant. The Bishops were required to use great Strictness in the Trial of those whom they ordained. All Pluralities and Non-residence were condemned, and all that were presented, were to purge themselves of Simony by Oath. The *twelfth* and *thirteenth* was concerning the changing of Benefices. The *fourteenth* was concerning the Manner of Purgation upon common Fame: All superstitious Purgations were condemned. Others followed, about Dilapidations, Elections or Collations. The *nineteenth* was concerning divine Offices. The Communion was ordered to be every Sunday in Cathedrals, and a Sermon was to be in them in the Afternoon. Such as received the Sacrament were to give Notice to the Minister the Day before, that he might examine their Consciences. The Catechism was appointed to be explained for an Hour in the Afternoon on Holy-days. After the Evening-prayer, the Poor were to be taken Care of, Penances were to be enjoined to scandalous Persons, and the Minister was to confer with some of the Antients of the People concerning the State of the Parish, that Admonitions and Censures might be applied, as there was Occasion given. The *twentieth* was concerning other Church-officers. A rural Dean was to be in every Precinct, to watch over the Clergy, according to the Bishop's Directions: Arch-deacons were to

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Book II. to be over them, and the Bishop over all; who was to have yearly Synods, and visit every third Year. His Family was to consist of Clergymen, in Imitation of St. *Austin*, and other antient Bishops; these he was to train up for the Service of the Church. When Bishops became infirm, they were to have Co-adjutors: Archbishops were to do the Episcopal Duties in their Diocese, and to visit their Province. Every Synod was to begin with a Communion; and after that, the Ministers were to give an Account of their Parishes, and follow such Directions as the Bishop should give them. Other Heads followed concerning Church-Wardens, Tithes, Universities, Visitations, and several Sorts of Censures. In the *thirtieth*, a large Scheme was drawn of Excommunication, which was intrusted to Church-Men, for keeping the Church pure, and was not to be inflicted, but for Obstinacy in some gross Fault. All Cases upon which it was pronounced, were to be examined before the Minister of the Parish, a Justice of Peace, and some other Church-Men. It was to be pronounced and intimated with great Seriousness, and all were to be warned not to keep Company with the Person censured, under the like Pains, except those of his own Family. Upon his continuing forty Days obstinate under it, a Writ was to be issued out for Commitment, till the Sentence should be taken off. Such as had the King's Pardon for capital Offences, were yet liable to Church Censures. Then followed the Office of absolving Penitents. They were to come to the Church-door, and crave Admittance

Admittance ; and the Minister having brought them in, was to read a long Discourse concerning Sin, Repentance, and the Mercies of God. Then the Party was to confess his Sin, and to ask God and the Congregation Pardon ; upon which the Minister was to lay his Hands on his Head, and to pronounce the Absolution. Then a Thanksgiving was to be offered to God, at the Communion-Table, for the reclaiming that Sinner. The other Heads of this Work relate to the other Parts of the Law of those Courts. It is certain, that the bounding of Vice and Impiety flows in a great Measure from the Want of that Strictness of Censure, which was the Glory of the Christian Church in the Primitive Times: And it is a publick Connivance at Sin, that there have not been more effectual Ways taken for making Sinners ashamed, and denying them the Privileges of Christians, till they have changed their ill Course of Life.

The Poverty of the Clergy.

There were at this Time also Remedies under Consideration, for the great Misery and Poverty the Clergy were generally in : But the clergy were so much concerned to oppose all these, that there was no Hope of bringing them to any good Effect, till the King should come to be of Age himself, and endeavour to recover again a competent Maintenance for the Clergy, out of their Hands who had devalued their Revenues. Both *Heath* and *Day*, and the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Chichester*, were this Year deprived of Bishopricks by a Court of Delegates, that were all lay-men : But it does not appear for what offences they were so censured. The Bishopricks.

Book II. ricks of *Glocester* and *Worcester* were both united, and put under *Hooper's* Care ; but soon after, the former was made an exempted Archdeaconry, and he was declared Bishop only of *Worcester*. In every See, as it fell vacant, the best Mannors were laid hold on by such hungry Courtiers as had the Interest to procure the Grant of them. It was thought that the Bishops Sees were so out of Measure enriched, that they could never be made poor enough : But such Haste was made in spoiling them, that they were reduced to so low a Condition, that it was hardly possible for a Bishop to subsist in them. If what had been thus taken from them had been converted to good Uses, such as the supplying the inferior Clergy, it had been some Mitigation of so heinous a Robbery : But their Lands were snatched up by Lay-men, who thought of making no Compensation to the Church for the Spoils thus made by them.

Affairs in
Ireland.

This Year the Reformation had some more Footing in *Ireland* than formerly. *Henry VIII.* had assum'd to himself, by Consent of the Parliament of that Kingdom, the Title of King of *Ireland* ; the former Kings of *England* having only been called Lords of it. The Popes and Emperors have pretended that such Titles could be given only by them. The former said, all Power in Heaven and Earth was given to Christ, and by Consequence to his Vicar. The latter, as carrying the Title of *Roman* Emperor, pretended that as they antiently bestowed those Titles so that devolved on them, who retained only the Name and Shadow of that great Author

city. But Princes and States have thought, that they may bring themselves under what Titles they please. In *Ireland*, though the Kings of *England* were well obey'd within the *English* Pale, yet the *Irish* continued barbarous and uncivilized, and depended on the Heads of their Names or Tribes, and were obedient, or did rebel, as they directed them. In *Ulster* they had a great Dependance on *Scotland*, and there were some Risings there, during the War with *Scotland*, which were quieted, by giving the Leading Men Pensions, and getting them to come and live within the *English* Pale. *Monlac*, Bishop of *Valence*, being then in *Scotland*, went over thither to engage them to raise new Commotions; but that had no Effect. While he was there, his Lasciviousness came to be discovered by an odd Accident; for a Whore was brought to him by some *English* Friers, and secretly kept by him: But the searching among his Cloaths, fell on a Glass, full of somewhat that was very odoriferous, and drank it off; which being discovered by the Bishop too late, put him in a most violent Passion: For it had been given him, as a Present, by *Soliman* the Magnificent, when he was Ambassador at his Court. It was called the richest Balm of *Egypt*, and valued at 2000 Crowns. His Rage grew so boisterous, that all about him discovered both his Passion and Lewdness at once. The Reformation was set up in the *English* Pale, but had made a small Progress among the *Irish*. This Year *Bale* was sent over to labour among them. He was a busy Writer, and was a Learned Zealous

Book II. lous Man, but did not write with the Temper
 and Decency that became a Divine. *Gooda-*
 1552. *ker* was sent to be Primate of *Armagh*, and
He was to be Bishop of *Offory*. Two *Irish*
 Men were also promoted with them, who un-
 dertook to advance the Reformation there.
 The Arch-bishop of *Dublin* intended to have
 ordained them by the old Pontifical; and all,
 except *Bale*, were willing it should be so,
 but he prevailed that it should be done accord-
 ing to the new Book of Ordinations. After
 that he went into his Diocese, but found
 all there in dark Popery; and before he could
 make any Progress, the King's Death put an
 End to his Designs. There was a Change
 settled in the Order of the Garter this Year.
 A Proposition was made the former Year
 to consider how the Order might be freed
 from the Superstition that was supposed to be
 in it. *St. George's* fighting with a Dragon
 look'd like a Legend forged in dark Ages to
 support the Humour of Chivalry, then very
 high in the World. The Story was neither
 credible in itself, nor vouched by any good
 Author: Nor was there any of that Name
 mentioned by the Antients, but *George* the
Arrian Bishop, that was put in *Alexandria*
 when *Athanasius* was banished. Some Knights
 were appointed to prepare a Reformation of
 the Order: And the Earl of *Westmorland*
 and Sir *Andrew Dudley*, were this Year in-
 stalled according to the new Model. It was
 appointed to be called in all Time coming
 the Order of the Garter, and no more the
 Order of *St. George*; instead of the former
George, there was to be on the one Side of the

A Change
 in the
 Garter.

Jewel

Jewel, a Man on Horseback with a Bible on his Sword's Point: On the Sword was written *Protectio*, and on the Bible *Verbum Dei*; and in the Reverse a Shield, and *Fides* written upon it, to shew that they would maintain the Word of God, both with offensive and defensive Weapons. But all this was reversed by Queen *Mary*, and the old Statutes were again revived, which continue to this Day.

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There was at this Time a strict Enquiry made into the Accounts of all who had been employed in the former Part of this Reign; for it was believed, that the Visitors had embezzl'd much of the Plate of the Churches: and these were the Creatures of the Duke of *Somerset*, which made *Northumberland* prosecute them more vehemently. On none did this fall more severely, than on the Lord *Paget*, who was not only fined in 6000 *l.* but was degraded from the Order of the Garter, with a particular Mark of Infamy in his Extraction; yet he was afterwards restored to it with as much Honour. He had been a constant Friend to the Duke of *Somerset*, and that made his Enemies execute so severe a Revenge on him. *Northumberland* was preparing Matters for a Parliament, and being a Man of an insolent Temper, no less object when he was low, than lifted up with prosperity; he thought extreme Severity was the only Way to bring the Nation easily to comply with his Administration of Affairs; but this, though it succeeded for some Time, when he needed it most, it turned violently upon him: For nothing can work

on

Book II. on a free People so much as Justice and Clemency in the Government.

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Trade
flourishes
much,

A great Design was settled this Year, which proved to be the Foundation of all that Wealth and Trade that has since that Time flourished so much in this Nation. Henry III. had been much supported in his Wars, by the Assistance he got from the Free-towns of *Germany*; in Recompence of which, he gave them great Privileges in *England*. They were formed here in a Corporation, and lived in the *Still-yard* near *London-bridge*. They had gone sometimes beyond their Charters, which were thereupon judged to be forfeited; but by great Presents, they purchased new ones. They traded in a Body, and so ruined others by under-selling them; and by making Presents at *Court*, or lending great Sums they had the Government on their Side. Trade was now rising much, Courts began to be more Magnificent, so that there was a greater Consumption, particularly of Cloth, than formerly. *Antwerp* and *Hamburgh* lying the one near the Mouth of the *Rhine*, and the other at the Mouth of the *Elbe*, had then the chief Trade in these Parts of the World, and their Factors in the *Still-yard* had all the Markets in *England* in their Hands; and set such Prices, both on what they imported and exported, as they pleased, and broke all other Merchants to such a Degree, that the former Year they had shipped *Forty four thousand* Cloths, and all the other Traders had not shipped above 1100. So the Merchant-adventurers complained of the *Still-yard* Men, and after some Hearings, it was judged that the

forfeited their Charter, and that their Book II.
 company was dissolved: Nor could all the Ap-
 plications of the *Hans* Towns, seconded by 1552.
 Emperor's Intercession, procure them a
 Charter. But a greater Design was pro-
 d, after this was settled; which was to
 have two free *Mart*-towns in *England*, and
 give them such Privileges as the Free Towns
 the Empire had, and by that Means to
 draw the Trade to *England*. *Southampton*
Hull were thought the fittest. This was
 first entertained by the young King, that he
 drew a large Paper, ballancing the Conveni-
 and Inconveniencies of it; but all that
 came to his Life. This Year *Cardan*, the *Cardan* in
 Philosopher of that Age, pass'd through *England*,
land, as he returned from *Scotland*. The
 bishop of *St. Andrew's* had sent for him
 of *Italy*, to cure him of a Dropsy; in
 which he had good Success; but being much
 versant in Astrology and Magick, he told
 he could not change his Fate, and that
 he was to be hanged. He waited on King
Edward, as he returned, and was so charmed
 by his great Knowledge and rare Qualities,
 he always spake of him, as the rarest
 man he had ever seen: And after his Death,
 nothing was to be got by flattering, he
 gave the following Character of him.
 All the Graces were in him: He had
 many Tongues, when he was yet but a
 child: Together with the *English*, his Na-
 tive Tongue, he had both *Latin* and *French*;
 and was he ignorant, as I hear, of the
Greek, *Italian*, and *Spanish*, and perhaps
 many more: But for the *English*, *French*,
 " and

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" and *Latin*, he was exact in them, and
 " apt to learn every Thing: Nor was he
 " ignorant of Logick, of the Principles of
 " natural Philosophy, nor of Musick. The
 " Sweetness of his Temper was such as
 " came a Mortal, his Gravity becoming
 " Majesty of a King, and his Disposition
 " suitable to his high Degree. In sum, the
 " Child was so bred, had such Parts, and
 " of such Expectation, that he look'd like
 " Miracle of a Man. These Things are
 " spoken Rhetorically, and beyond the Truth
 " but are indeed short of it." And afterwards
 " he adds, " He was a marvellous Boy; when
 " I was with him, he was in the 15th Year
 " of his Age, in which he spake *Latin* as
 " lightly and as promptly as I did. He asked
 " me what was the Subject of my Book,
 " *Rerum Varietate*, which I dedicated
 " him? I answered, That in the first Chapter
 " I gave the true Cause of Comets, which
 " had been long enquired into, but was never
 " found out before. What is it, said he?
 " said it was the Concourse of the Light
 " wandering Stars. He answered, How
 " that be, since the Stars move in different
 " Motions? How comes it that the Comets
 " are not soon dissipated, or do not melt
 " after them, according to their Motion?
 " To this I answered, they do move as fast
 " as them, but much quicker than they, by Reason
 " of the different Aspect, as we see in the
 " Crystal, or when a Rain-bow rebounds
 " from a Wall: For a little Change makes
 " great Difference of Place. But the King
 " said, How can that be, where there is
 "

Subject to receive that Light; as the Wall Book II.
is the Subject for the Rainbow? To this I

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answered, That this was as in the Milky-
Way, or where many Candles were lighted;
the middle Place, where their shining met,
was white and clear. From this little Taste,
it may be imagined what he was. And
indeed the Ingenuity and Sweetness of his
Disposition had raised in all good and
learned Men the greatest Expectation of
him possible. He began to love the Liberal
Arts before he knew them, and to know
them before he could use them: And in
him there was such an Attempt of Nature,
that not only *England*, but the World hath
Reason to lament his being so early snatch'd
away. How truly was it said of such ex-
traordinary Persons, That their Lives are
short, and seldom do they come to be old?
He gave us an Essay of Virtue, though he
did not live to give a Pattern of it. When
the Gravity of a King was needful, he car-
ried himself like an old Man; and yet he
was always affable and gentle, as became
his Age. He play'd on the Lute; he
meddled in Affairs of State: And for Boun-
ty, he did in that emulate his Father; tho'
he, even when he endeavoured to be too
good, might appear to have been bad. But
there was no ground of suspecting any such
thing in the Son, whose Mind was cultiva-
ted by the Study of Philosophy.

These extraordinary Blossoms gave but too
good Reason to fear, that a Fruit which ri-
ped so fast, could not last long.

Book II.

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Affairs in
Scotland.

In *Scotland* there was a great Change in the Government; and the Governor was dealt with, to resign it to the Queen Dowager, who returned this Year from *France*, and was treated with all that Respect that was due to her Rank, as she pass'd through *England*. She brought Letters to the Governor, advising him to resign it to her; but in such Terms, that he saw he must either do it, or maintain his Power by Force. He was a soft Man, and was the more easily wrought on, because his ambitious Brother was then desperately ill. But when he recovered, and found what he had done, he expressed his Displeasure at it in very vehement Terms. The young Queen of *Scotland's* Uncles proposed a Match for her with the *Dauphin*, which had been long in Discourse, and the King of *France* inclined much to it. Constable *Montmorancy* opposed it: He observed how much *Spain* suffered in having so many Territories at a Distance; that those were the best Provinces of *Europe*. So he reckoned the keeping *Scotland* would cost *France* more than ever it could be worth: A Revolt to *England* would be easy, and the sending Fleets and Armies thither would be a vast Charge. He therefore advised the King rather to marry her to some of the Princes of the Blood, and to send them to *Scotland*; and so by a small Pension, that Kingdom would be preserved in the Interests of *France*. But the Constable was a sworn Enemy to the House of *Guise*, and so those wise Advices were little considered, and were imputed to the Fears he had of so great a strengthening as would have given, to their Interest

Cow

Court. In *Scotland* there were now Two Fa-Book II.

tions; the one was headed by the Arch-
bishop, and all the Clergy were in it, who
were jealous of the Queen, as leaning too
much to some Lords, who were believed to
incline to the Reformation; of whom the
Prior of *St. Andrew's*, afterwards the Earl of
Murray, was the chief. These offered to serve
the Queen in all her Designs; in particular,
in sending the Matrimonial Crown to *France*,
upon their young Queen's Marriage with the
Dauphin, if she would defend them from the
Violence of the Clergy in Matters of Religion,
which being made generally subservient to
other Interests in all Courts, this was well
entertained by the Queen, though she was
otherwise very zealous in her own Religion.

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There was a great and unexpected Turn
this Year in the Affairs of *Germany*. The Em-
peror's Ministers began to entertain some Jeal-
ousy of *Maurice*; so that the Duke of *Alva*
advised the Emperor to call for him, and so
take him off from the Head of the Army;
and then make him give an Account of some
suspicious Passages, in his treating with other
Princes. But the Bishop of *Arras* said, he
knew both his Secretaries in Pay, and he knew
their Means all his Negotiations; and re-
lied so on their Intelligence, that he prevailed
with the Emperor not to provoke him, by
showing distrustful of him. But *Maurice*
saw all this, and deluded his Secretaries, so
that he seemed to open to them all his secretest
Negotiations; yet he really let them know
nothing, but what he was willing should come
to the Emperor's Ears; and had managed his

Affairs in
Germany.

Treaties so secretly, that they had not the least Suspicion of them. At last the Emperor was so possess'd with the Advertisements that were sent him from all Parts, that he writ to *Maurice* to come and clear himself: And then he refined it higher; for he presently left the Army, and took Post, with one of his Secretaries, and a small Retinue. After a Day's riding, he complained of a Pain in his Side; so that he could not go on, but sent his Secretary with his Excuses. This Appearance of Confidence made the Emperor lay down all his Jealousies of him. He had also sent his Ambassadors to *Trent*, and had ordered *Melancthon*, and some Divines, to follow them slowly; and as soon as a Safe-Conduct was obtained, to go to *Trent*. The Emperor's Agents had a hard Task, between the Legates and the *Lutherans*. They dealt with the Legates to hear the others; but they answered that it was against the Rules of the Church to treat with professed Hereticks. The *Lutherans*, on the other hand, made such high Demands, that they had as much to do to moderate them. They press'd them not to ask too much at once; and promised, that if they would proceed prudently, the Emperor would concur with them, to pull down the Pope's Power, and to reform Abuses. A Safe-Conduct was demanded, such as had been granted by the Council of *Basil*, that their Divines might have a Decisive Voice, and the Exercise of their Religion, and that all the Points might be examined according to the Scriptures. But the Legates abhorred the Name of the Council, that had acted so much against

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Papal Authority, and had granted such a Conduct, that so they might unite *Germany*, and engage the Empire to join with them against the Pope. The Ambassadors from the *Lutherans* were heard in a General Congregation, where they gave the Council a very cold Compliment, and desired a Safe-Conduct. The Pope understood that the Emperor was resolved to set on the *Spanish* Bishops, to bear down the Power of the Court of *Rome*; therefore he united himself to *France*, and resolved to break the Council on the first Occasion: Upon which, he ordered the Legates to proceed to settle the Doctrine; hoping the Protestants would upon that despair of Favour, and go away. But while these Things were in Agitation, the War of *Germany* broke out, and the Legates suspended the Council for Two Years.

After this, I shall have no Occasion to An Account of this Council; so I shall offer count of this Remark here, That this Council had been the Council of Trent, much desired both by Princes and Bishops, in hopes that Differences of Religion should have been composed in it, and that the Corruptions of the Court of *Rome* would have been reformed by it, and that had made the Popes very apprehensive of it. But such was the Cunning of the Legates, the Number of *Italian* Bishops, and the Dissentions of the Princes of *Europe*, that it had Effects quite contrary to what all Sides expected. The breach in Religion was put past reconciling, by the positive Decisions they made: The Abuses of the Court of *Rome* were confirmed by the Council's made in Favour of the Privileges of

Book II. the Apostolick See: And the World was so
 1552. cured of their Longings for a General Council,
 that none has been desired since that Time. The History of that Council was writ with great Exactness and Judgment by Father *Paul of Venice*, while the Thing was fresh in all Mens Memories; and tho' it discovered the whole Secret of Transactions there, yet none set himself to write against it for Forty Years after. Of late then, *Pallavicini* undertook it; and upon the Credit of many Memorials, he in many things contradicts Father *Paul*: But as many of these are likely enough to be forged, so in the main History they both agree so far, that it is manifest, Things were not fairly carried, and that all Matters were managed by Intrigues and secret Practices; in which it will be very hard to discern such a particular Conduct of the Holy Ghost, as should induce the World to submit to their Authority. And indeed *Pallavicini* was aware of this, and therefore he lays down this for a Foundation; "That there must be a Principality in the Church, supported by great Wealth and Dignity; and many Practices are now necessary, that are contrary to what were in the primitive Time, which was the Infancy of the Church, and ought not to be a Rule to it now, when it is grown up to its full State.

The Emperor's
 Designs
 are blasted.

Maurice declared for the Liberty of Germany; and took *Augsburg*, and several other Towns. The King of *France* fell also in upon the Empire with a great Force, and by Surprise made himself Master of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, and thought to have got *Straßburg*.

burg. Maurice sent his Demands to the Emperor for the Landgrave's Liberty, and for restoring the Freedom of the Empire: And the Emperor being slow in making Answer, he marched on to *Inspruck*, where he surprized a Post, and was within two Miles of him before he was aware of it; so that the Emperor was fain to fly away by Torch-light, and from thence went to *Italy*. Thus that very Army and Prince, that had been chiefly instrumental in the Ruin of the Empire, did now again assert its Freedom; and all the Emperor's great Design on *Germany* was now so blasted, that he could never after this put any Life in it: He was forced to discharge his Prisoners, and to call in the Proscriptions. After some Treaty, at last the Edict of *Passaw* was made, by which the free Exercise of the Protestant Religion was granted to the Princes and Towns. And so did that Storm, which had almost overwhelmed the Princes of that Persuasion, end, without any other considerable Effect, besides the Translation of the Electoral Dignity from *John* to *Maurice*. The Emperor's Misfortunes increased on him; for, against all Reason, he besieged *Metz* in *December*; but after he had ruined his Army in it, he was forced to raise the Siege. Upon that he retired into *Flanders* in such Discontent, that for some time he would admit none to come to him. Here it was believed he first formed that Design, which some Years after he put in Execution, of forsaking the World, and exchanging the Pomp of a Court with the Retirement of a Monastery. This strange and unlook'd-for Turn in his Affairs, gave a

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great Demonstration of an over ruling Providence, that governs all human Affairs; and of that particular Care that God had of the Reformation, in recovering it, when it seemed to be gone, without all Hope, in *Germany*.

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In the Beginning of this Year, there was a Regulation made of the Privy-Council. Several Committees had proper Work assigned them, and Directions given them for their Conduct; of which there is an Account extant, corrected with King *Edward's* Hand. A new Parliament was called, and sat down the first of *March*: A Motion was made for a Subsidy of two Tenths, and two Fifteenths to be paid in two Years. At the passing of the Bill, there was a great Debate about it in the House of Commons, which seems to have been about the Preamble; for it contained a high Accusation of the Duke of *Somerset's* Administration, and was set on by the Duke of *Northumberland's* Party, to let the King see how well pleased the Representative of the Nation was with his Fall.

A Bill proposed, that Laymen should not hold Church Dignities.

The Sons of the Nobility and Gentry had ordinarily Prebends given them, under this Pretence, that they intended to follow their Studies, and make themselves capable of entering into Orders: And this was like to become a great Prejudice to the Clergy, when so many of the Dignities of the Church were in Lay-hands. Upon this, the Bishops procured a Bill to be pass'd in the House of Lords, that none might hold these, that was not either Priest or Deacon: But at the third reading, the Commons threw it out.

Another Bill pass'd for suppressing the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and erecting two new Sees, the one at *Durham* and the other at *Newcastle*; the former was to have 2000, and the latter 1000 Marks Revenue: There was also a Dean and a Chapter to be endowed at *Newcastle*. *Ridley* was designed to be made Bishop of *Durham*. But though the Secular Jurisdiction of that See was given to the Duke of *Northumberland*, yet the King's Death stopp'd the further Progress of this Affair. *Tonstall* was deprived, as *Heath* and *Day* were, by a Court of Lay-Delegates, upon the Informations that had been brought against him of Misprision of Treason, and was kept in the *Tower* till Queen *Mary* set him at Liberty. The King granted a General Pardon, in which the Commons moved the Lords, that some Words might be put, though that is not usual to be done; for Acts of Pardon are commonly pass'd without any Changes made in them. After the passing these Acts, the Parliament was dissolved on the last of *March*. For it seems either the Duke of *Northumberland* was not pleased with the Proceedings in the House of Commons, or he was resolved to call frequent Parliaments, and not continue the same, as the Duke of *Somerſet* had done.

Visitors were sent after this to examine what Plate was in every Church, and to leave them one or two Chalice of Silver, with Linnen for the Communion-Table and for Surplices; and to bring in all other Things of Value to the Treasurer of the King's Household, and to sell the rest, and give it to the

H ;

Poor.

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An Act
suppres-
sing the
Bishop-
rick of
Durham.

Another
Visitati-
on.

Book II. Poor. This was a new rising of Churches, by which it seemed some resolved not to cease, till they had brought them to a primitive Poverty, as well as the Reformers intended to bring them to a primitive Purity. The King set his Hand to these Instructions; from which some have inferred, that he was ill principled in himself, when at such an Age he joined his Authority to such Proceedings. But he was now so ill, that it is probable he set his Hand to every thing that the Council sent him, without examining anxiously what it might import.

Bishops *Skip* Bishop of Hereford dying, *Harley* succeeded him, and was the last that was promoted by the King's Letters Patents; as *Barlow* was the first, being removed by them from *St. David's* to *Bath* and *Wells*. The Form of the Patent was, "That the King appointed such a one to be Bishop during his natural Life, or as long as he behaved himself well; And gave him Power to ordain or deprive Ministers, to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and perform all the other Parts of the Episcopal Function, that by the Word of God were committed to Bishops; and this they were to do in the King's Name, and by his Authority. *Ferrar* was put in *St. David's*, upon *Barlow's* Removal: He was an indiscreet Man; and drew upon himself the Dislike of his Prebendaries, and many Complaints were made of him, which, true, discovered great Weakness in him. At last he was sued in a *Premunire*, for acting in his own Name, and not in the King's, in his Courts; and was put in Prison, where he

continued till *Morgan*, that was his chief Accu-
 user, being put in his place by Queen *Mary*,
 condemned him to the Fire; which turned
 all former Censures, that he had given Occa-
 sion for by his Simplicity, into Esteem and
 Compassion. By these Patents, the Episco-
 pal Power was still declared to flow from
 Christ; they were only Presentations to Bi-
 shopricks, such as other Patrons gave to infer-
 ior Benefices; and such as Christian Princes
 in *France*, and other Kingdoms, gave in elder
 Times for Bishopricks. Their Courts were
 ordered to be held in the King's Name: But
 all this was repealed by Queen *Mary*. And
 when Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, in-
 stead of reviving this, she revived that made
 in the 25th of *Henry VIII.* by which Bishops
 were authorized to hold their Courts, as they
 had done formerly. And though Queen *Ma-
 ry's* Repeal of the Statute of this King was
 afterwards taken away, so that this Act seem-
 ed thereby to be again in force; yet Queen
Elizabeth's reviving that made by her Father,
 was understood to be, in effect, a Repeal of
 it. So that in King *James's* Time, when
 some Scruples were stated about it, the Judges
 did not think it necessary to make an expla-
 natory Act to clear the Matter; for the Thing
 did not seem to admit of any Debate. A
 new and fuller Catechism was this Year com-
 posed by *Poinet*, and was published with the
 King's Approbation.

1553.

Affairs in
 Germany.

The State of Affairs beyond Sea was now
 quite turned; so that the Progress the *French*
 had made, set the *English* Council on media-
 ting a Peace. The Emperor represented to
 them

Book II. them the Danger the *Netherlands* were in, since the *French* were Masters of *Metz*, and so could in a great measure divide them from the Assistance that they might receive from the Empire; therefore he desired that, according to the antient Leagues between *England* and the House of *Burgundy*, they would now engage against the *French*. The Council sent over Ambassadors, both to the Emperor and the *French* King, to mediate. The Emperor was then indisposed; but his Ministers complained much, that the *French* had broken with them perfidiously, when they were making solemn Protestations, that they intended to observe the Peace religiously. The *Germans* proposed a League between the Emperor, the King of the *Romans*, the King of *England*, and the Princes of the Empire. The Emperor moved, that the *Netherlands* might be comprehended within the Perpetual League of the Empire; but the Princes refused that, since those Provinces were like to be the perpetual Seat of War, whenever it should break out between *France* and *Spain*; unless they might have reciprocal Advantages, for exposing themselves to so much Danger and Charge. The *French* made extravagant Propositions; by which it appeared, that their King had a mind to carry on the War. They ask'd the Restitution of *Milan*, *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Navarre*, and the Sovereignty of the *Netherlands*; and that *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun* should continue under the Protection of *France*. The *English* would not receive these as Mediators, but took them only as a Paper of News, and so ordered their Ambassadors

to communicate them to the Emperor. But Book II.
the King's Death broke off this Negotiation.

He had contracted great Colds by violent 1553.
Exercises, which in *January* settled in a deep The
Cough: And all Medicines proved ineffectual. King's
There was a Suspicion taken up, and spread Sickneſs.

all over *Europe*, that he was poisoned; but no
certain Grounds appeared for justifying that.
During his Sickneſs, *Ridley* preached before
him; and, among other Things, run out much
in Works of Charity, and the Duty of Men
of high Condition, to be eminent in good
Works. The King was much touched with
this; so after Sermon he sent for the Bishop,
and treated him with such Respect, that he
made him sit down, and be covered. Then
he told him, what Impreſſion his Exhortation
had made on him; and therefore he desired to
be directed by him, how to do his Duty in that
matter. *Ridley* took a little Time to consider
of it; and after some Consultation with the
Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, he
brought the King a Scheme of several Foun-
dations, one for the Sick and Wounded, ano-
ther for such as were wilfully idle, or were mad,
and a third for Orphans. So he endowed *St.*
Bartholomew's Hospital for the First, *Bridewell*
for the Second, and *Christ-Church* near *New-*
gate for the Third; and he enlarged the
grant he made the former Year for *St. Tho-*
mas's Hospital in *Southwark*. The Statutes
and Warrants relating to these were not finish-
ed before the 26th of *June*, though he gave
order to make all the haste that was possible:
and when he set his Hand to them, he bleſs'd
God that had prolonged his Life, till he fi-
nished

The Pa-
rents for
the Suc-
cession to
the
Crown.

nished his Designs concerning them. These Houses have, by the good Government and great Charities of the City of London, continued to be so useful, and grown to be so well endowed, that now they may well be reckoned among the Noblest in Europe.

The King bore his Sickness with great Submission to the Will of God ; and seemed to be concerned in nothing so much, as the State that Religion and the Church would be in after his Death. The Duke of *Suffolk* had only Three Daughters, the Eldest of these was now married to the Lord *Guilford Dudley* ; the Second to the Earl of *Pembroke's* Eldest Son, and the third, who was crooked, to one *Key*. The Duke of *Northumberland*, for strengthening his Family, married also his own Two Daughters, the one to Sir *Henry Sydney*, and the other to the Earl of *Huntington's* Eldest Son. He grew to be much hated by the People ; and the Jealousy of the King's being poisoned, was fasten'd on him. But he regarded these Things little, and resolved to improve the Fears the King was in concerning Religion, to the Advantage of the Lady *Jane*. The King was easily persuaded to order the Judges, and his learned Council, to put some Articles, which he had signed for the Succession of the Crown, in the common Form of Law. They answered, That the Succession being settled by Act of Parliament, could not be taken away, except by Parliament : Yet the King required them to do what he commanded them. But next Time they came to the Council, they declared, That it was manifest Treason to change the Succession, by an Act

1553.

pass'd in this Reign; so they could not meddle with it. *Mountague* was Chief Justice, and spake in the Name of the rest. *Northumberland* fell in a great Passion against him, calling him Traitor, for refusing to obey the King's Commands: For that is always the Language of an Arbitrary Minister, when he acts against Law. But the Judges were not shaken by his threatnings; so they were again brought before the King, who sharply rebuked them for their Delays: But they said, all that they cou'd do, would be of no Force without a Parliament; yet they were required to do it, in the best Manner they could. At last, *Mountague* desired they might have a Pardon for what they were to do; and that being granted, all the Judges, except *Gosnald* and *Hales*, agreed to the Patent, and delivered their Opinion, That the Lord Chancellor might put the Seal to it, and that then it wou'd be good in Law: yet the former of these Two was at last wrought to; so *Hales* was the only Man that stood out the last: Who, though he was a zealous Protestant, yet would not give his Opinion in this Matter against his Conscience, upon any consideration whatsoever. The Privy-Counsellors were next required to set their Hands to it. *Cecil*, in a Relation he writ of this Transaction, says, That hearing some of the Judges declare so positively that it was against Law, he refused to set his Hand to it, as a Privy-Counsellor; but signed it only as a Witness to the King's Subscription. *Cranmer* stood out long; he came not to Council when pass'd there; and refused to consent to it, when he was press'd to it: for he said, he would

Book II. would never have a Hand in disinheriting his late Master's Daughters. The young dying King was at last set on him, and by his Importunity prevailed with him to do it, and the Seal was put to the Patents. The King's Distemper continued to increase, so that the Physicians despaired of his Recovery. A confident Woman undertook his Cure, and he was put in her Hands, but she left him worse than she found him; and this heightened the Jealousy of the Duke of Northumberland, that had introduced her, and put the Physicians away. At last, to crown his Design, he got the King to write to his Sisters, to come and divert him in his Sickness: And the Matter of the Exclusion had been carried secretly, that they apprehending no Danger had begun their Journey.

The
King's
Death and
Character

On the 6th of *July*, the King felt Death approaching; and prepared himself for it, in a most devout Manner. He was often heard offering up Prayers and Ejaculations to God. Particularly a few Moments before he died, he pray'd earnestly that God would take him out of this wretched Life, and committed his Spirit to him: He interceded very frequently for his Subjects, that God would preserve *England* from Popery, and maintain his true Religion among them. Soon after that, he breathed out his innocent Soul, being in *Henry Sidney's* Arms. Endeavours were used to conceal his Death for some Days, on design to draw his Sisters into the Snare, before they should be aware of it; but that could not be done.

The
s ver

Thus died *Edward VI.* in the Sixteenth Book II.
 Year of his Age. He was counted the Won-
 der of that Time: He was not only learned in

1553.

the Tongues, and the Liberal Sciences, but
 knew well the State of his Kingdom. He
 kept a Table-Book, in which he had writ the
 Characters of all the Eminent Men of the
 Nation. He studied Fortification, and under-
 stood the Mint well. He knew the Harbours
 of all his Dominions, with the Depth of Wa-
 ter, and Way of coming into them. He un-
 derstood Foreign Affairs so well, that the Am-
 bassadors that were sent into *England*, pub-
 lished very extraordinary Things of him, in
 the Courts of *Europe*. He had great
 quickness of Apprehension; but being di-
 sturb'd of his Memory, he took Notes of
 every Thing he heard, that was considerable,
 in *Greek* Characters; that those about him
 might not understand what he writ, which he
 afterwards copied out fair in the Journal that
 he kept.

His Virtues were wonderful: When he
 was made believe, that his Uncle was guilty
 of conspiring the Death of the other Coun-
 cillors, he upon that abandoned him. *Bar-
 tholomew Fitz Patrick* was his Favourite; and
 when he sent him to travel, he writ oft to
 him to keep good Company, to avoid Excess
 and Luxury, and to improve himself in those
 Languages, that might render him capable of
 Employment at his Return. He was after-
 wards made Lord of Upper *Offory* in *Ireland*
 by *Queen Elizabeth*, and did answer the Hopes
 that this Excellent King had of him. He
 was very merciful in his Nature, which ap-
 peared

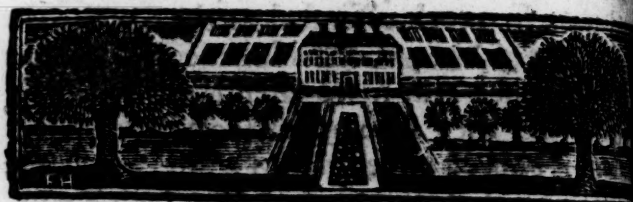
peared in his Unwillingness to sign the Warrant for burning the Maid of Kent. He took great Care to have his Debts well paid, reckoning that a Prince who breaks his Faith and loses his Credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himself liable to perpetual Distrust, and extreme Contempt. He took special Care of the Petitions, that were given him by the poor and oppress'd People. But his great Zeal for Religion crowned all the rest. It was not an angry Heat about it that acted him, but it was a true Tenderness of Conscience, founded on the Love of God and his Neighbours.

These extraordinary Qualities, set off with great Sweetness and Affability, made him universally beloved by all his People. Some called him their *Josias*, others *Edward the Saint*, and others called him the *Phoenix* that rises out of his Mother's Ashes; and all People concluded, that the Sins of *England* must have been very great, since they provoked God to deprive the Nation of so signal a Blessing, as the rest of his Reign would have, if all Appearance, proved. *Ridley*, and other good Men of that Time, made great Lamentations of the Vices that were grown then so common, that Men had pass'd without Shame in them. *Luxury*, *Oppression*, and *Hatred of Religion*, had over-run the highest Rank of People, who gave a Countenance to the Reformation, merely to rob the Church; but by that, and their other Practices, were become a great Scandal to so good a Work. The inferior Sort were so much in the Power of the Priests, who were still, notwithstanding

their outward Compliance, Papists in Heart ; Book II.
 and were so much offended at the Spoil they
 saw made of the good Endowments, without
 putting other and more useful ones in their
 room, that they who understood little of Re-
 ligion, laboured under great Prejudices against
 every thing that was advanced by such Tools.
 And these Things, as they provoked God
 highly, so they disposed the People much to
 that sad Catastrophe, which is to be the Sub-
 ject of the next Book.

1553.





AN
ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
History of the Reformation
OF THE
Church of ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

The Life and Reign of Queen Mary.

Book III.

1553.
Queen
Mary suc-
ceeds.



Y King *Edward's* Death, the Crown devolved, according Law, on his Eldest Sister *Mary* who was within half a Day Journey to the Court, when she had notice given her by the Earl of *Arundel*, of her Brother's Death, and the Patent for Lady *Jane's* Succession ; and this prevented her falling into the Trap that was laid for her. Upon that she retired to *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*, both to be near the Sea, that she might escape to *Flanders*,



QUEEN MARY

QUEEN JANE

EDWARD SEYMOR
Protector

BISHOP RIDLEY

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case of a Misfortune; and because the Slaughter Book III.

that was made of Ker's People by Northum-
 land, begat him the Hatred of the People
 that Neighbourhood. Before she got thi-
 er, she wrote on the 9th of July to the
 ouncil, and let them know she understood
 at her Brother was dead, by which she suc-
 eded to the Crown, but wondred that she
 ard not from them: She knew well, what
 onversations they had engaged in; but she
 old pardon all that was done, to such as
 ould return to their Duty, and proclaim her
 title to the Crown. By this it was found,
 at the King's Death could be no longer kept
 ret; so some of the Privy-Council went to
 dy Jane, and acknowledged her their
 een. The News of the King's Death af-
 fected her much; and her being raised to the
 throne, rather increased then lessen'd her
 ouble. She was a very extraordinary Per-
 n, both for Body and Mind. She had learn-
 both the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues to great
 rfection; and delighted much in Study.
 e read *Plato* in *Greek*, and drunk in the
 cepts of true Philosophy so early, that as she
 as not tainted with the Levities, not to say
 ces, of those of her Age and Condition;
 she seemed to have attained to the Pra-
 ce of the highest Notions of Philosophy:
 r in those sudden Turns of her Condition,
 she was not exalted with the Prospect of a
 own, so she was as little cast down, when
 Palace was made her Prison. The only
 ssion she shewed, was that of the noblest
 nd, in the Concern she express'd for her
 ther and Husband, who fell with her, and
 seem-

1553.

Book III. seemingly on her Account, though really

1553.

Northumberland's Ambition and her Father's Weakness ruined her. She rejected the Offer of the Crown, when it was first made her: she said, she knew, that of Right it belonged to the late King's Sister, and so she could not with a good Conscience assume it; but it was told her that both the Judges and Privy Counsellors had declared, that it fell to her according to Law. This joined with the Importunities of her Husband, who had more of his Father's Temper, than of her Philosophy in him, made her submit to it. Upon this the XXI Privy Counsellors set their Hands to a Letter to Queen Mary, letting her know that Queen Jane was now their Sovereign, and that the Marriage between her Father and Mother was null, so she could not succeed to the Crown; and therefore they required her to lay down her Pretensions, and to submit to the Settlement now made: and if she gave ready Obedience to these Commands, they promised her much Favour.

But Lady Jane Grey is proclaimed.

The Day after this, they proclaimed Jane Grey: it they set forth, 'That the late King had by Patent excluded his Sisters; that both were illegitimated by Sentences pass'd in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and confirmed in Parliament; and at best they were only his Sisters by the half Blood, and so not inheritable by the Law of England. There was all cause to fear, that they might marry Strangers, and change the Laws, and subject the Nation to the Tyranny of the See of Rome. Next to them the Crown fell to the Dukes of Suffolk; and it was provided, that

she should have no Sons, when the King Book III.

ed, the Crown should devolve on her

daughter, who was born and married in 1553.

the Kingdom. Upon which they asserted

Right, and she promised to maintain

the true Religion, and the Laws of the

land. This was not received with the

ordinary on such Occasions: A *Vint-*

Boy expressed some Scorn, when he

said it; for which he was next Day set on

pillory, and his Ears were nailed to it, to

be a Terror in the Rest.

any descanted variously on this Proclama- Censures

Those who thought that the King had pass'd up-

power immediately from God, said, that on that.

it must descend in the Way of Inheri-

ence; and since the King's two Sisters were

under Sentences of Illegitimation, they

the next Heir in Blood must succeed, and

was the young Queen of *Scotland*; but

being of the Church of *Rome*, claimed

upon the Sentence against Queen

Elizabeth, esteeming it unlawful and null; yet

she made her Claim against Queen

Elizabeth. Others said, that though a Prince

named immediately by God, yet upon

Reasons he might alter the Succession

its natural Course: for so *David* prefer-

Solomon to *Adonijah*. In *England*, the

Queen claimed the Crown by a long Prescrip-

tion confirmed by many Laws, and not from

any Divine Designation; and therefore they

argued, that the Act of Parliament for the

Succession ought to take Place, and that by

virtue of it, the two Sisters ought to succeed:

It was said, that as the King could limit

the

Book III. the Prerogative, so he could likewise limit the
 ~~~~~ Succession. It was also said, that *Chor*  
 1553. *Brandon's* Issue by the *French* Queen was  
 lawful, because he was then married to *o*  
*Mortimer*; yet this was not declared in a  
 Court, and so could not take place. *Othe*  
 said, if the Right of Blood could not be  
 off, why was the *Scotch* Queen cut off? *A*  
 her being born out of the Kingdom, co  
 not exclude her as an *Alien*; for though  
 held in other Cases, yet it was only a Pro  
 fion of Law, which could not take awa  
 Divine Right, and by special Law the Ki  
 Children were excepted. It was also urg  
 That the Dutcheffs of *Suffolk* ought to be  
 ferred to her Daughter, who could only cla  
 by her Right: And though *Maud* the E  
 press, and *Margaret* Countess of *Richm*  
 had not claim'd the Crown, but were fais  
 that their Sons, two *Henries*, the Second  
 Seventh, should reign in their Right, y  
 was never heard that a Mother should  
 her Right to a Daughter: That of the  
 Blood was said to be only a Rule in Law  
 private Families, and that it did not ext  
 to the Crown. The Power of limiting  
 Succession by Patent or Testament, was  
 to be only a Personal Trust lodged in  
*Henry* the Eighth, and that it did not des  
 to his Heirs; so that King *Edward's* Pa  
 were thought to be of no Force.

Many  
 turn to  
 Q. *Mary*.

The Severity against the *Vintner's* B  
 the Beginning of a Reign founded o  
 doubtful a Title, was thought a great  
 in Policy; and it seemed to be a well grow  
 Maxim, That all Governments ought to

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with Acts of Clemency, and affect the Love rather than the Fear of the People. Book III.

*Northumberland's* Proceeding against the Duke of *Somerset*, upon so foul a Conspiracy, and the Suspicions that lay on him, as the Author of the late King's untimely Death, begat a great Aversion in the People to him; and that disposed them to set up Queen *Mary*. She gathered all in the neighbouring Countries about her. The Men of *Suffolk* were generally for the Reformation; yet a great Body of them came to her, and asked her, if she would promise not to alter the Religion set up in King *Edward's* Days; she assured them she would make no Changes, but should be content with the Private Exercise of her own Religion. Upon that, they all vowed that they would live and dye with her. The Earl of *Suffex*, and several others, raised Forces for her, and proclaimed her Queen. When the Council heard this, they sent the Earl of *Huntington's* Brother to raise Men in *Buckinghamshire*, and meet the Forces that should be sent from *London*, at *Newmarket*.

1553.

The Duke of *Northumberland* was ordered to command the Army. He was now much distracted in his Thoughts. It was of equal importance to keep *London* and the Privy-councillors steady, and to conduct the Army well: A Misfortune in either of these was like to be fatal to him. So he could not resolve what to do; there was not a Man of Spirit that was firm to him, to be left behind; and it was most necessary at once to dissipate the force that was daily growing about Queen *Mary*. The Lady *Jane* and the Council were

*Northumberland*  
marches  
against  
her.

Book III. removed to the *Tower*, not only for State, but

for Security; for here the Council were upon the matter Prisoners. He could do no more, but lay a strict Charge on the Council, to be firm to Lady *Jane's* Interests; and so he marched out of *London* with 2000 Horse and 6000 Foot, on the 14th of *July*: But no Acclamations or Wishes of Success were to be heard, as he pass'd through the Streets. The Council gave the Emperor Notice of the Lady *Jane's* Succession, and complained of the Disturbance that was raised by Queen *Mary*, and that his Ambassador had officiously meddled in their Affairs. But the Emperor would not receive their Letters. *Ridley* was appointed to preach up Queen *Jane's* Title, and to animate the People against Queen *Mary*, which he too rashly obeyed. But Queen *Mary's* Party increased every Day. *Hastings* went over to her with 4000 Men of *Buckinghamshire*, and she was proclaimed Queen in many Places. And now did the Privy-Council begin to see their Danger, and to think how to get out of it. The Earl of *Arundel* hated *Northumberland*. The Marquis of *Winchester* was dextrous in shifting Sides for his Advantage. The Earl of *Pembroke's* Son had married the Lady *Jane's* Sister, which made him think it necessary to redeem the Danger he was in by a speedy Turn. To these many others were joined. They pretended it was necessary to give an Audience to the Foreign Ambassadors, who would not have it in the *Tower*. And the Earl of *Pembroke's* House was pitched upon, he being the least suspected. They also said it was necessary to treat

with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, for sending more Forces to Northumberland, concerning which he had writ very earnestly.

1553.

When they got out, they resolved to declare for Queen Mary, and rid themselves of Northumberland's uneasy Yoke, which they knew they must bear, if he were victorious. They sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and easily persuaded them to concur with them ;

and so they went immediately to Cheapside, and proclaimed the Queen on the 19th of July : And from thence they went to St. Paul's, where *Te Deum* was sung. They sent next to the Tower, requiring the Duke of Suffolk to quit the Government of that Place, and the Lady Jane to lay down the Title of Queen. She submitted with as much Greatness of Mind, as her Father shewed of Abjection. They sent also Orders to Northumberland to dismiss his Forces, and to obey the Queen : And the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget were sent to carry these welcome tidings to her. When Northumberland heard of the Turn that was in London, without staying for Orders he discharged his Forces, and went to the Market-place at Cambridge, where he was at that Time, and proclaimed the Queen. The Earl of Arundel was sent to apprehend him ; and when he was brought to him, he fell at his Feet to beg his Favour : For a Mind that has no Balance in it self, turns insolent or abject, out of Measure, with the various Changes of Fortune. He, and three of his Sons, and Sir Tho. Palmer, (that was his wicked Instrument against the Duke of Somerset) were all sent to the Tower.



Book III. Now all People went to implore the Queen's Favour, and *Ridley* among the rest; but he was sent to the *Tower*; for she both was offended with him for his Sermon, and resolved to put *Bonner* again in the See of *London*. Some of the Judges, and several Noblemen, were also sent thither; among the rest the Duke of *Suffolk*; but three Days after he was set at Liberty. He was a weak Man, and could do little harm; so he was pitched on as the first Instance, towards whom the Queen should express her Clemency.

She comes to *London*. She came to *London* on the 3d of *August*; and on the Way was met by her Sister, Lady *Elizabeth*, with a Thousand Horse, whom she had raised to come to the Queen's Assistance. When she came to the *Tower*, she discharged the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Dutchess of *Somerset*, and *Gardiner*, of whose Commitment mention has been formerly made; as also the Lord *Courtney*, Son to the Marquis of *Exeter*, who had been kept there ever since his Father's Attainder, whom she made Earl of *Devonshire*. And thus was she now peaceably settled on the Throne, notwithstanding that great Combination against her; which had not been so easily broken, if the Head of it had not been a Man so universally distasteful.

Her former Life. She was a Lady of great Virtue: She was strict in her Religion, to Superstition: Her Temper was much corrupted by Melancholly; and the many cross Accidents of her Life increased this to a great Degree. She adhered so resolutely to her Mother's Interests, that it was believed her Father once intended to have taken her Life. Upon which her Mother

wrote

wrote a very devout Letter to her, charging Book III.  
her to trust in God, and keep herself pure, and to obey the King in all Things, except in Matters of Religion. She sent her two *Latin* Books for her Entertainment: *St. Jerom's* Epistles, and a Book of the Life of Christ, which was perhaps the famous Book of *Thomas à Kempis*. The King's Displeasure at her was such, that neither the Duke of *Norfolk*, nor *Gardiner*, durst venture to intercede for her. *Cranmer* was the only Man that hazarded on it, and did it so effectually, that he prevailed with him about it. But after her Mother's Death, she hearkned to other Counsels; so that upon *Anne Boleyn's* Fall, she made a full Submission to him, as was mentioned before. She did also in many Letters, which she writ both to her Father, and to *Cromwell*, "protest great Sorrow for her former Stubborness, and declared that she put her Soul in his Hand, and that her Conscience should be always directed by him: And being asked what her Opinion was concerning Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and Relicks; she answered, that she had no Opinion, but such as she received from the King, who had her whole Heart in his keeping; and might imprint upon it, in these, and in all other Matters, whatever his inestimable Virtue, high Wisdom, and excellent Learning should think convenient for her. So perfectly had she learned the Stile that she knew was most acceptable to her Father. After that, she was in all Points obedient to him, and during her Brother's Reign, she set up on that Pretence, that she would adhere

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Book III. to that Way of Religion, that was settled by her Father.

155  
The Coun-  
sels then  
laiddown.

Two different Schemes were now set before her; *Gardiner*, and all that had complied in the former Times, moved, that at first she should bring Things back to the State in which they were, when her Father died: And afterwards by easy and slow Steps she might again return to the Obedience to the See of *Rome*. But she herself was more inclined to return to that immediately; she thought she could not be legitimated any other Way, and so was like to proceed too quick. *Gardiner* finding that Political Maxims made no great Impressions on her, and that he was lookt on by her as a crafty temporizing Man, addressed himself to the Emperor, who understood Government and Mankind better: And undertook, that if he might have the Seals, he would manage Matters so, that in a little Time he would bring all Things about to her Mind; and that there was no Danger, but in her precipitating Things, and being so much governed by *Italian* Counsels: For he understood that she had sent for Cardinal *Pool*. The People had a great Aversion to the Papal Authority, and the Nobility and Gentry were apprehensive of losing the *Abbey* Lands; therefore it was necessary to remove these Prejudices by Degrees. He also assured the Emperor, that he would serve all his Interests zealously, and shewed him how necessary it was to stop Cardinal *Pool*, who stood Attainted by Law: In this he was the more earnest, because he knew *Pool* hated him. The Emperor upon this writ so effectually to the Queen, to de-  
pend

pend on *Gardiner's* Counsels, that on the Book III.  
13th of *August* he was made Lord Chancellor, and the Conduct of Affairs was put in his Hands. The Duke of *Norfolk* being now at Liberty, pretended that he was never truly attainted; and that it was no legal Act that had pass'd against him, and by this he recovered his Estate; all the Grants that had been made out of it, being declared void at Common Law. 1553.

He was made Lord Steward for the Tryal *Northum-*  
of the Duke of *Northumberland*, and his *berland's*  
Son the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Marquis of *Tryal*.

*Northampton*. All that they pleaded in their own Defence, lay in Two Points; the one was, Whether any Thing that was acted by Order of Council, and the Authority of the Great Seal, could be Treason? The other was, Whether those that were as guilty as they were, could sit and judge them? The Judges answered, That the Great Seal, or Privy-Council of one that was not lawful Queen, could give no Authority or Indemnity: And that other Peers, if they were not convicted by Record, might judge them. These Points being determined against them, they pleaded Guilty, and submitted to the Queen's Mercy: So Sentence pass'd upon them. And the Day after that, Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and some others, were tried and condemned: But of all these, it was resolved, that only *Northumberland*, *Gates* and *Palmer* should suffer.

*Heath* was appointed to attend on *Northum-* And *Exe-*  
*berland*, and to prepare him for Death. He cution.  
then professed he had been-always of the Old



Book III. Religion in his Heart, and had complied  
 against his Conscience in the former Times;  
 1553. but whether that was true, or whether it was  
 done in hopes of Life, as it cannot be certainly  
 known, so it shews he had little Regard to  
 Religion, either in his Life, or at his Death.  
 But he was a Man of such a Temper, that it  
 was resolved to put him out of a Capacity  
 of revenging himself on his Enemies. On  
 the 22d of *August*, he and the other two  
 were beheaded. There pass'd some Expostu-  
 lation between *Gates* and him, each of them  
 accusing the other as the Author of their  
 Ruin. But they were seemingly reconciled,  
 and professed they forgave one another. He  
 made a long Speech, confessing his former ill  
 Life, and the Justice of the Sentence against  
 him: "He exhorted the People to stand to  
 " the Religion of their Ancestors, to reject all  
 " Novelties, and to drive the Preachers of  
 " them out of the Nation; and declared he  
 " had temporized against his Conscience, and  
 " that he was always of the Religion of his  
 " Forefathers. He was an extraordinary  
 Man, till he was raised very high; but that  
 transported him out of measure. And he was  
 so strangely changed in the last Passages of  
 his Life, that it increased the Jealousies that  
 were raised of his having hastned King *Edward's*  
 Death: And that the Horrors of that  
 Guilt did so haunt him, that both the Judge-  
 ment and Courage he had expressed in the  
 former Parts of his Life, seemed now to have  
 left him. *Palmer* was little pitied; for he  
 was believed the Betrayer of his former  
 Master the Duke of *Somerset*, and was upon  
 that

that Service taken into *Northumberland's* Con- Book III.  
fidence.

There was no strict Enquiry made into King <sup>1553.</sup>  
*Edward's* Death: All the Honour done his King *Ed-*  
Memory, was, that they allowed him Fune- ward's Fu-  
ral Rites. On the 8th of *August*, he was neral.  
buried at *Westminster*; and the Queen had an  
Exequie, and Masses for him at the *Tower*.  
*Day* was appointed to preach the Sermon: In  
it he praised the King, but inveighed severely  
against the Administration of Affairs under  
him. It had been resolved to bury him accor-  
ding to the old Forms; but *Cranmer* opposed  
that, and prevailed that he should be buried  
according to the Form then settled by Law:  
And he himself did Officiate, and ended the  
Solemnity with a Communion; all which, it  
may be supposed, he did with a very lively  
Sorrow, having both loved the King beyond  
Expression, and looked on his Funeral as the  
Burial of the Reformation, and as a Step to  
his own.

On the 22d of *August* the Queen declared A Tumult  
in Council, "That though she was fixed in at St.  
her own Religion, yet she would not com- Paul's.  
pel others to it; But would leave that to  
the Motions of God's Spirit, and the La-  
bours of good Preachers. The Day after  
that, *Bonner* went to *St. Paul's*; and *Bourn*,  
that was his Chaplain, preached: He extolled  
*Bonner* much, and inveighed against the Suffer-  
ings he was put to. Upon this a Tumult  
was raised, for the People could not hear  
reflections made on King *Edward*. Some  
threw Stones at him, and one threw a Dagger  
at the Pulpit with such Force, that it stuck

Book III. *fast in the Wood.* *Rogers and Bradford* were present, who were in great Esteem with the People: So they stood up and quieted them, and conveyed *Bourn* safe Home. This was a very welcome Accident to the Papists, and gave them a Colour to prohibit Preaching, by a Publick Inhibition in the Queen's Name: In which she declared, "That her Religion" "was the same that it had been from her Infancy; but that she would compel none of" "her Subjects in Matters of Religion, till" "publick Order should be taken in it by common Assent. She required her People to" "live quietly, not to use the Terms of *Papist*, or *Heretick*, or other reproachful Speeches, and that none should preach without Licence: She also charged them not to punish" "any on the Account of the late Rebellion, but as they should be authorized by her. She would be sorry to be driven to execute the Severity of the Law; but was resolved" "not to suffer Rebellious Doings to go unpunished. This gave great Occasion to Censure, and was thought a Declaration, not for her Father's Religion, but for Popery: Since it was that which she professed from her Infancy. It was also observed, that she limited her Promise of not compelling others, till publick Orders should be taken in it: The Meaning of which was, till a Parliament could be brought to concur with her. The Restraint upon preaching without Licence was justified from what had been done in King *Edward's* Time; though then, at first, all might Preach in their own Churches without it; it was only necessary, if they preached

any where else. Bishops had also the Power of Licensing in their Dioceses : And the Total Restraint that followed afterwards, lasted but a short while. But now all the Pulpits were put under an Interdict, till the Preachers should obtain a License from *Gardiner* : And that he resolved to grant to none, but those that would Preach as he should direct them. The Queen's Threatning to proceed against such as were guilty of the late Rebellion, struck a general Terror in the City of *London* ; for the greatest Part had been in some Measure concerned in it.

In *Suffolk* the People thought their Services, and the Queen's Promises gave them a Title to own their Religion more avowedly : But Orders were sent to the Bishop of *Norwich* to execute the Queen's Injunctions, and to see that none should Preach that had not obtained a License. Upon this, some of those that had merited most, came and put the Queen in Mind of her Promise : But she sent them home with a cold Answer ; and told them, They must learn to obey her, and not pretend to govern her : And one that had spoken more confidently than the rest, was set in the Pillory for it three Days, as having said Words that tended to defame the Queen. This was a sad Omen of a severe Government, in which the Claiming of Promises went for a Crime. *Bradford* and *Rogers* were also seized on ; and it was pretended, that the Authority they shewed in quieting the Tumult, was a Sign that they had raised *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonstall*, *Heath* and *ay*, were restored to their Bishopricks : They had

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had all appealed to the King before Sentence had pass'd against them; so Commissions were given to some Civilians to examine the Grounds of these Appeals, and they made report that they were good, and so that the Sentences against them were null. *Gardiner* had Authority given him to grant Priests Licenses to preach in any Church, as he should appoint. By this the Reformed were not only silenced, but their Churches and Pulpits were cast open to such as *Gardiner* pleased to send among them. They differed in their Opinions how far they were bound to obey this Prohibition. Some thought they might forbear publick Preaching, when they were so required: But they made that up by private Conferences and Instructions. Others thought that if this had been only a particular Hardship upon a few, the Regard to Peace and Order should have obliged them to submit to it: But since it was general, and done on Design to extinguish the Light of the Gospel, that they ought to go on, and Preach at their Peril; of this last Sort several were put in Prison for their Disobedience, and among others, *Hooper* and *Coverdale*.

The People that loved the old Superstition, began now to set up Images, and the old Rites again in many Places: And though this was plainly against Law, yet the Government encouraged it all they could. Judge *Hales* thought his refusing to concur with the rest in excluding the Queen, gave him a more than ordinary Privilege. So when he went the Circuit, he gave the Charge in *Kent*, requiring the Justices to see to the Execution of

Particu-  
larly a-  
gainst  
Judge  
*Hales*.

King

King Edward's Laws, that continued still in Book III.  
force. But upon his return he was committed for this, and removed from Prison to Prison; which, with the Threatnings that were made him, terrified him so much, that he cut his Throat, but not mortally. As he recovered, he made his Submission and obtained his Liberty. Yet the Disorder he was in, never left him till he drowned himself. This shewed that former Merit was not so much considered, as a Readiness to comply in Matters of Religion; Judge Bromley, though he made no Difficulty in declaring his Opinion for the Queen's Exclusion, yet since he professed himself a Papist, was made Lord Chief Justice: And Montague, who had proceeded in with great Aversion, yet because he was for the Reformation, was put in Prison, and severely fined; though he had this Merit to pretend, that he had sent his Son and twenty men with him, to declare for the Queen; and had this also to recommend him to pity, that he had six Sons and ten Daughters. Per Martyr was forced to retire from Oxford: he came to Lambeth, but was not like to find any Shelter there.

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Cranmer kept himself quiet for some Time, Cranmer's which gave the other Party Occasion to pub- Imprison-  
lish that he was resolved to turn with the ment.  
side. Bonner writ upon that to a Friend of  
s, that Mr. Canterbury (so he called him in  
erision) was become very humble; but that  
ould not serve his Turn, for he would be  
at to the Tower within a very little while.  
ome advised him to fly beyond Sea; he an-  
swered, That though he could not dissuade  
others

Book III. others to fly from the Persecution they saw coming on, yet that was unbecoming a Man in his Station, that had such a Hand in the Changes formerly made. He prepared a Writing which he intended to have published: The Substance of it was, "That he found the Devil was more than ordinary busy in doing, "faming the Servants of God; and that "whereas the Corruptions in the Mass had "been cast out, and that the Lord's Supper "was again set up, according to its first Institution; the Devil now, to promote the "Mass, which was his Invention, set his Instruments on Work, who gave it out, that "it was now said in *Canterbury* by his Order: Therefore he protested that was false "and that a dissembling Monk (this was "Thornton Bishop Suffragan of *Dover*) had done it without his Knowledge. He also offered that he and *Peter Martyr*, with such other four or five as he should name, would be ready to prove the Errors of the Mass, and to defend the whole Doctrine and Service set forth by the late King, as most conform to the Word of God, and to the Practice of the Antient Church for many Ages. Before he had finished this Story, that had been Bishop of *Chichester* coming to him, he shewed it him, and desired his Opinion in it. He being a hot Man liked it so well, that he gave Copies of it. And one of these was read publickly in *Cheapside*. So three Days after that he was cited to the *Star-Chamber* to answer for it. He confessed it was his, and that he had intended to have enlarged it in some Things, and

have affixed it with his Hand and Seal to Book III.  
at St. Paul's, and many other Churches.

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was at this Time dismiss'd : *Gardiner* saw  
the Queen intended to put *Cardinal Pool* in  
his Room, and that made him endeavour to  
deserve him. Some moved that a small Pen-  
sion might be assigned him, and that he  
should be suffered to live private : For the  
sweetness of his Temper had procured him  
universal a Love from all People, that it  
was thought too hardy a Step to proceed to Ex-  
communications with him. Others said, he had been  
the chief Author of all the Heresy that was  
in the Nation, and that it was not decent  
for the Queen to shew any Favour to him,  
that had pronounced the Sentence of her Mo-  
ther's Divorce. Within a Week after this,  
both *Latimer* and *He*, and several other  
teachers were put in Prison.

*Peter Martyr*, that had come over upon  
the publick Faith, had Leave given him to go  
beyond Sea : So had also *Alasco*, and the  
*German*s : And about two hundred of them  
went away in *December* : But both in *Den-*  
*mark*, where they first landed, and in *Lubeck*,  
*Smarmar* and *Hamburg*, to which they remo-  
ved, they were denied Admittance, because  
they were of the *Helvetian* Confession, and  
in all these Places the fierce *Lutherans* pre-  
vailed ; who did so far put off all Bowels,  
that they would not so much as suffer these  
refugees to stay among them, till the Rigors  
of the Winter were over : But at last they  
found Shelter in *Friezeland*. Many of the  
*English* foreseeing the Storm, resolved to with-  
draw in Time : So the Strangers being requi-

The  
Strangers  
driven  
out of  
England.



Book III. red to be gone, they went under that Cover  
 in great Numbers. But the Council under-  
 standing that about a Thousand had so con-  
 1553.veyed themselves away, gave order that none  
 should be suffered to go as Strangers, but  
 those that had a Certificate from the Ambassa-  
 dor of the Princes to whom they belonged.  
 With those that fled beyond Sea, divers emi-  
 nent Preachers went; among whom were  
*Cox, Sandys, Grindal and Horn*; all afterwards  
 highly advanced by Queen *Elizabeth*.

Popular  
 Arts used  
 by Gardi-  
 ner.

These Things began to alienate the People  
 from the Government, therefore on the other  
 Hand great Care was taken to sweeten them.  
 The Queen bestowed the chief Offices of the  
 Household on those that had assisted her in  
 her Extremity; there being no Way more ef-  
 fectual to engage all to adhere to the Crown  
 than the grateful Acknowledgment of past  
 Services. An unusual Honour was done to *Ro-  
 seliffe Earl of Suffex*, he had a License granted  
 him under the Great Seal, to cover his Head  
 in her Presence. On the 10th of October  
 the Queen was crowned, *Gardiner* with the  
 other Bishops performing that Ceremony  
 with the ordinary Solemnity. *Day* being  
 esteemed the best Preacher among them  
 preached the Sermon. There was a general  
 Pardon proclaimed, and with that, "the  
 " Queen discharged the Subjects of the twelfth  
 " Tenth, two Fifteenths, and a Subsidy  
 " that had been granted by the last Parli-  
 " ment: And she also declared that she would  
 " pay both her Father's Debts and her Bro-  
 " ther's; and though her Treasure was much  
 " exhausted, yet she esteeming the Love of her  
 " People

her People her best Treasure, forgave those Book III.  
Taxes ; in lieu of which she desired only  
the Hearts of her Subjects, and that they 1553.  
would serve God sincerely, and pray ear-  
nestly for her.

On the 20th of October, a Parliament met. A Parlia-  
ment had been great Violences used in many ment  
elections, and many false Returns were made : meets,  
some that were known to be zealous for the and re-  
formation, were forcibly turned out of the peals se-  
House of Commons ; which was afterwards veral  
cited as a Ground upon which that Parlia- Laws.  
ment, and all Acts made in it, might have  
been annulled. There came only Two of the  
reformed Bishops to the House of Lords :  
the two Archbishops, and three Bishops  
were in Prison : Two others were turned out ;  
the rest staid at Home : So only Taylor and  
Waley, the Bishops of Lincoln and Hereford,  
remained. When Mass began to be said, they  
went out, as some report it, but were never  
permitted to come to their Places again. Others  
said, they refused to join in that Worship,  
and so were violently thrust out. In the House  
of Commons, some of the more forward mo-  
ved, That King Edward's Laws might be re-  
newed ; but things were not ripe enough for  
that. Nowel, a Prebendary of Westminster,  
returned Burgefs for a Town : but the  
House voted, That the Clergy being represent-  
ed in the Lower House of Convocation, could  
not be admitted to sit among the Laity. The  
Commons sent up a Bill of Tonnage and  
Subsidage, which the Lords sent down amend-  
ed in two Proviso's ; and the Commons did  
then insist on their Privilege, that the  
Lords

Book III. Lords could not alter a Bill of Money. The only Publick Bill that was finished this Session, was a Repeal of all late Statutes, making any Crime Treason, that was not so by the 25th of *Edward III.* or Felony, that was not so before King *Henry VIII.* Excepting from the Benefit of this Act, all that were put in Prison before the End of September last, who were also excepted out of the General Pardon. The Marchioness of *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Devonshire* her Son, were restored in Blood by two private Acts; and then the Parliament was prorogued for three Days that it might be said, the first Session under the Queen was merely for Acts of Mercy.

The Queen's Mother's Marriage confirmed.

At their next Meeting, after the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage was pass'd, a Bill pass'd, through both Houses in Four Days, repealing the Divorce of the Queen's Mother. " In which they declared the Marriage to have been lawful; and that malicious Persons had possessed the King with Scruples concerning it; and had by Corruption procured the Seals of Foreign Universities condemning it; and had by Threatnings and sinister Arts obtained the like in *England*: Upon which *Cranmer* had pronounced the Sentence of Divorce, which had been confirmed in Parliament: They therefore looking on the Miseries that had fallen on the Nation since that Time, as Judgments from God for that Sentence, condemn it, and repeal the Acts confirming it. *Gardiner*, this, performed his Promise to the Queen of getting her to be declared Legitimate without taking Notice of the Pope's Authority.

But he shewed that he was past Shame, when he procured such a Repeal of a Sentence, which he had so servilely promoted : And he particularly knew the Falshood of this Pretence, that the foreign Universities were corrupted. He had also set it on long before *summer* engaged in it, and sat in Court with *him*, when it was pronounced. By this Act the Lady *Elizabeth* was upon the Matter again illegitimated, since the Ground upon which her Mother's Marriage subsisted, was the Divorce of the first Marriage : And it was either upon this Pretence, or on old Scores, that the Queen, who had hitherto treated her as a Sister, began now to use her more severely. Others suggest that a secret Rivalry was the true Spring of it. It was thought the Earl of *Devonshire* was much in the Queen's favour; but he either not presuming so high, or thinking Lady *Elizabeth* better, who was much more beautiful, and was XIX Years younger than the Queen, made his Addresses to her; which provoked the Queen so much that it drew a great deal of Trouble on them.

The next Bill was a Repeal of all the Laws made in King *Edward's* Reign, concerning Religion : It was argued six Days in the House of Commons, and carried without a Division.

By this, Religion was again put back to the State in which King *Henry* had left it. And this was to take Place after the 20th *December* next; but till then it was left to all, either to use the old, or the new Rite, as they pleased. Another Act pass'd against all that should disquiet any Preacher for



Book III. for his Sermons, or interrupt Divine Offices either such as had been in the last Year of 1553. King Henry, or such as the Queen should see out: By which he was impower'd to restore the Service in all Things, as it had been before her Father made the Breach with Rome. Offenders were either to be punished by Ecclesiastical Censures, or by an Imprisonment for three Months. And the House of Commons was now so forward, that they sent up a Bill for the punishing of all such as would not come to Church or Sacraments, after the Old Service should be again set up: Yet the Lords fearing this might alarm the Nation too much, let it fall. Another Law was made, That if any, to the Number Twelve, should meet to alter any Thing in Religion, or for any Riot, or should by any publick Notice, such as Bells or Beacons, gather the People together, and upon Proclamation made, should not disperse themselves, they, and all that assisted them, were declared guilty of Felony. And if any more than twelve met for these ends, they should lye a Year in Prison. And all People were required, under severe Penalties, to assist the Justices, for suppressing such Assemblies. So the Favour of the former Act of Repeal appeared to be Mockery, when so soon after it, so severe a Law was made; by which Disorders, that might arise upon sudden Heats, were to be declared Felonies. The Marquis of Northampton's second Marriage was also annulled, but no Declaration was made against Divorce in general, grounded on the Indissolubleness of the Marriage-Bond; only that particular

entence was condemned, as pronounced up- Book III.  
on false Surmises.

An Act also passed, annulling the Attain- 1553.  
er of the Duke of *Norfolk*. Those who had The Duke  
urchased some Parts of his Estate from the of *Nor-*  
rown, opposed it much in the House of *folk's At-*  
ommons : But the Duke came down to the tainder  
ouse, and desired them earnestly to pass it, repealed.  
nd assured them, that he would refer all Dif-  
ferences between him and the Patentees, ei-  
er to Arbiters, or to the Queen : And so it  
as agreed to. " It set forth the Pretences  
that were made use of to attain him ; As,  
that he used Coats of Arms, which he  
and his Ancestors had lawfully used. There  
was a Commission given to some, to de-  
clare the Royal Assent to it ; but that was  
not signed, but only stamped by the King's  
Mark : And that not at the upper end, as  
was usual, but beneath : Nor did it appear  
that the Royal Assent was ever given to it ;  
and they declared that in all Time coming,  
the Royal Assent should be given, either by  
the King in Person, or by a Commission un-  
der the Great Seal, signed by the King's  
Hand, and publicly declared to both Hou-  
ses." *Cranmer*, *Guilford Dudley*, and his  
Wife the Lady *Jane*, and two of his Brothers,  
were tried for Treason : They all confessed their  
indictments ; Only *Cranmer* appealed to the  
Judges, who knew how unwillingly he had  
consented to the Exclusion of the Queen ; and  
that he did it not till they, whose Profession  
was to know the Law, had signed it. They  
were all attainted of Treason for levying War  
against the Queen : and their Attainders were  
con-

Book III. confirmed in Parliament ; so was *Cranmer*

1553. gally divested of his Archbishoprick ; but since he was put in it by the Pope's Authority, it was resolved to degrade him by the Forms of the Canon-Law, and the Queen was willing to pardon his Treason. But that it might appear she did not act upon Revenge but Zeal, she was often prevailed with to pardon Injuries against herself, but was always inexorable in Matters of Religion.

A Treaty  
for reconciling  
England  
to the  
Pope.

But now her Treaty with the Pope began to take vent, which put the Parliament in some Disorder. When she came first to the Crown the Pope's Legate at *Brussels* sent over *Commendone*, to see if he could speak with her and to persuade her to reconcile her Kingdom to the Apostolick See. The Management of the Matter was left to his Discretion for the Legate would not trust this Secret *Gardiner*, nor any of the other Bishops. *Commendone* came over in the Disguise of a Merchant, and by accident met with one of the Queen's Servants, who had lived some Years beyond Sea, and was known to him, and by his Means he procured Access to the Queen. She assured him of her firm Resolution to return to the Obedience of that See, but charged him to manage the Matter with great Prudence ; for if it were too early discovered it might disturb her Affairs, and obstruct the Design : By him she wrote both to the Pope, and to Cardinal *Pool* ; and instructed *Commendone*, in order to the sending over *Pool* with a Legatine Power : She also asked him, Whether the Pope might not dispense with *Pool* to marry, since he was only in De-

1553.

's Orders? This was a welcome Message to Court of Rome, and proved the Foundation of *Commendone's* Advancement. There was a publick Rejoicing for three Days, and the Pope said Mass himself upon it; and gave largess of Indulgences, in which he might be the more liberal, because they were like to bring him into Credit again, and to go off at the same Rates. Yet all that *Commendone* said in Consistory, was, That he understood from the Queen's Hands, that the Queen was well disposed to a Re-union. Some of the stiffer Cardinals thought it was below the Pope's Dignity to send a Legate, till an Embassy should come first from the Queen, desiring it: Yet the Secret was so whispered among them, that it was generally known. It was said, they went to imitate the Shepherd in the Parable, who went to seek the stray Sheep: And therefore *Pool* was appointed to go Legate, with full Powers. *Gardiner* was in fear of him, and so advised the Emperor to stop him in his Journey; and to touch the Emperor in a tender Part, it is said, that he let him know that the Queen had some Inclinations for the Cardinal. The Emperor had now proposed a Match with her for his Son, though he was Years younger than she was; yet she being but Thirty Seven, there was reason enough to hope for Children; and the uniting *England* to the *Spanish* Monarchy, seemed to be that was wanting to strengthen it on all sides, so as to ruin the *French* Kingdom. The Queen saw Reasons enough to determine her to entertain it: She found it would be hard to bring the Nation about in Matters of Religion,

And for a Match with the Prince of Spain.



Book III. gion, without the Assistance of a Foreign Power : Yet it is more reasonable to think that  
 1553. *Gardiner*, who was always governed by his Interests, would have rather promoted the Match with *Pole*, for then he had been infallibly made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and had got *Pole's* Hat ; and the Government would have been much easier, if the Queen had married a Subject, than it could be under a Stranger, especially one whose Greatness made all People very apprehensive of him.

*Pole's* Advices to the Queen.

The restoring the Papal Power, and the Match with the Prince of *Spain*, were Things of such uneasy Digestion, that it was not to adventure on both at once ; therefore the Emperor press'd the Queen to begin with her Marriage, and by that she would be powerfully assisted to carry on her other Designs : At last the Queen herself was persuaded to send to *Pole*, to advise him to stop his Journey for some Time. She sent over the Acts of the Parliament, to let him see what Progress she was making, and to assure him she would make all convenient haste in the Re-union. But the Parliament had expressed so great Aversion to the restoring the Pope's Power, and were so apprehensive of losing the Abbots' Lands, that it would prejudice her Affairs much, if he should come over before the People's Minds were better prepar'd. She also fir'd him to send her a List of those that were fit to be made Bishops, in the room of those that were turned out. To this he writ a long and tedious Answer : He rejoiced at the Acts that were pass'd ; but observed great Defects in them. In that concerning her Mother's Marriage

riage, there was no mention made of the Pope's Bull of Dispensation, by which only it could be a Lawful Marriage. The other for setting up the Worship, as it was in the End of her Father's Reign, he censured more ; for they were then in a State of Schism, and so this established Schism by a Law : And he said, that while the Interdict lay on the Nation, it was a Sin to perform Divine Offices. He had been very frankly dispatched by the Pope and the Consistory, with many favourable Instructions ; but if these were so despised, and he still stopt, it might provoke him to recal his Power. He knew all this flowed from the Emperor, who would perhaps advise her to follow such Political Maxims as himself was governed by ; but his ill Success in the Business of the *Interim*, might well frighten others from following such Counsels : And he was afraid that Carnal Policy might govern her too much, and that so she would fall from her Simplicity in Christ. He desired her to take Courage, and to depend on God ; and advised her to go herself to the Parliament, having before-hand prepared some to second her, and to tell them that she was touched in conscience with a Sense of the Sin of Schism, and that therefore she desired the Act of Attainder that stood against him might be repealed ; and that he might be invited to come over, and reconcile them to the Apostolick See : And she might assure them that all necessary Caution should be used to prevent the Nation's being brought under a Thralldom to the Papacy. But the Queen was now possessed with Gardiner's Counsels, and look'd on

1553.

Book III. *Pool's* Advices as more candid than prudent.

1553.

*Gardiner* perswaded her, that though he was a good and learned Man, yet he understood not the present Genius of the Nation ; and *Pool* lookt on *Gardiner* as a Man of no Conscience, and that he was more conversant in Intrigues of State, than touched with any Sense of Religion : But the Emperor was convinced that *Gardiner's* Methods were surer, and preferred them to *Pool's*.

The Parliament came to be known, the House of Commons were much alarmed at it ; and they sent their Speaker with twenty of their Members, with an Address to her, not to marry a Stranger : And they were so inflamed, that the Court judged it necessary to dissolve the Parliament. *Gardiner* upon this, let the Emperor know that the Jealousies which were taken up on the Account of the Match were such, that except very extraordinary Conditions were offered, it would occasion a general Rebellion. He also writ to him, that great Sums must be sent over both to gratify the Nobility, and to enable them to carry the Elections the next Parliament, in Opposition to such as would stand against them. As for Conditions, it was resolved to grant any that should be demanded for the Emperor reckoned that if his Son were once married to her, it would be easy for him to govern the Councils as he pleased : And for Money, there was Four hundred thousand Pounds ordered to be divided up and down the Nation, at the Discretion of *Gardiner*, and the Emperor's Ambassadors : A great Part of it was paid in Hand, and the rest was brought

brought over with the Prince. This the Empe- Book III.  
 ror borrowed from some of the free Towns of

Germany; and when they were pressing him  
 for the Repayment of it about a Year after, he  
 for his Excuse told them the Charge he had  
 been at for his Son's Marriage, but that he  
 hoped to be Reimbursed from *England*; which  
 was thus bought and sold by a practising  
 Bishop, and a corrupted House of Commons.  
 Gardiner did also make use of his Power, as  
 Chancellor, to force all People to comply  
 with him; for there was no Favour nor com-  
 mon Justice shewed in his Court of Chancery  
 to any others.

With the Parliament a Convocation met: A Convo-  
 cation *Marpsfield* Preached to them; he flattered the  
 queen, and the Bishops that had been deprived  
 the late Times, with a Zeal that shewed  
 how fervently he aspired to Preferment: He  
 weighed against the late Times with great  
 sharpness; so that his Sermon was divided be-  
 tween Satyr and Panegyrick. Six of the Re-  
 formed Divines were qualified by their Dig-  
 nities to sit in the Lower-House, being either  
 Bishops or Arch-Deacons, who were *Philpot*,  
*Ellis*, *Haddon*, *Cheyney*, *Ailmer* and *Young*.  
 They made a vigorous Opposition to a Mo-  
 tion that was proposed for condemning the  
 Catechism and Common-Prayer-Book that  
 had been set out in King *Edward's* Time, and  
 particularly the Articles against Transubstan-  
 tiation: To this all agreed except those six.  
 It was pretended, that the Catechism was not  
 set out by Authority of Convocation: To  
 which *Philpot* answered, That the Convoca-  
 tion had deputed some to compose it, and so



Book III. it was on the Matter their Work. A Disputation was proposed concerning the Sacrament, though all the rest of the Convocation subscribed the Conclusion first; which was complained of as a preposterous Method. The six desired that *Ridley* and *Rogers*, with some others, might be suffered to come and join with them; but that was refused, since they were no Members, and were then in Prison.

1553.

On the twenty third of *October* the Dispute began; many of the Nobility, and others being present; *Weston* was Prolocutor, he opened it with a Protestation, that they went not to dispute, as calling the Truth in Question, but only to satisfy the Objections of a few. *Haddon*, *Ailmer* and *Young*, foresaw that it was resolved to run them down with Numbers and Noise, so at first they refused to dispute, and the last of them went away. *Cheyney* argued from *St. Paul's* calling the Sacrament *Bread*, *Origen's* saying that it nourished the Body, and *Theodore's* saying, that the Elements did not depart from their former substance, form and shape. *Moreman* answered, that *Theodore's* Words were to be understood of an Accidental Substance: he was replied, that form and shape belonged to the Accidents, but substance belonged to the Nature of the Elements. *Philpot* shewed that the Occasion of his using these Words was to prove against the *Eutychians*, that there was a true Human Nature in Christ notwithstanding its Union with the Godhead; which he proved by this Simile, That the Elements in the Eucharist remained in their Nature; so this must be understood

the Substance of the Bread and Wine : But to Book III.  
this no Answer was made ; and when he seemed to press it too far, he was commanded to be silent. *Haddon* cited many Passages out of the Fathers, to shew that they believed Christ was still in Heaven, and that the Sacrament was a Memorial of him till his Second coming : He also asked, whether they thought that Christ did eat his own natural Body ; and when that was confessed, he said it was needless to dispute with Men who could swallow down such an Absurdity. The Disputation continued several Days : *Philpot* made a long Speech against the Corporal Presence, but was oft interrupted ; for they told him that he might propose an Argument, but they would not hear him make Harangues.

He undertook to prove before the Queen and her Council, that the Mass, as they had it, was no Sacrament at all, and that the Body of Christ was not present in it ; and if he failed it it, he would be content to be burnt at the Court Gate. After some short Time spent in citing Passages out of the Fathers, *Philpot* was commanded to hold his Peace, otherwise they would send him to Prison : He claimed the Privilege of the House for Freedom of Speech ; but being much cried down, he said they were a Company of Men who had dissembled with God and the World in the late Reign, and were now met together to set forth false Devices, which they were not able to maintain. *Theodore's* Words were much and often insisted on ; so *Weston* answered, If *Theodore* should be yielded to them, they had an hundred Fathers on the

Book III. other Side. *Cheyney* shewed out of *Hesychius*,  
 1553. that the Custom of *Jerusalem* was to burn so  
 much of the Elements as was not consumed:  
 And he asked what it was that was burnt?  
 One answered, it was either the Body of  
 Christ, or the Substance of Bread put there by  
 Miracle; at which he smiled, and said a Re-  
 ply was needless. When much Discourse had  
 pass'd, *Westall* asked if the House were not  
 fully satisfied? To which the Clergy answered  
 Yes; but the Spectators cried out No, No;  
 for the Doors were opened: Then *Weston* asked  
 the five Disputants if they would answer the  
 Arguments that should be put to them? *Mil-*  
*mer* said, they could not enter into such a  
 Disputation, where Matters were so indecent-  
 ly carried: They proposed only the Reasons  
 why they could not joyn with the Vote that  
 had been put concerning the Sacrament, but  
 unless they had fairer Judges, they would go  
 no further. *Weston* broke up all by saying  
*You have the Word, but we have the Sword*:  
 rightly pointing out that wherein the Strength  
 of both Sides consisted. It is not to be doubt-  
 ed, but that the Popish Party pretended they  
 had the Victory, for that always the stronger  
 Side does upon such Occasions: Yet it was  
 visible that this Dispute was not so fairly car-  
 ried, as those were in King *Edward's* Days  
 in which for near a Year before any Change  
 was made, there were publick Disputes in the  
 Universities, which were more proper Places  
 for them, than a Town full of Noise and  
 Business. The Question was also here deter-  
 mined first, and then disputed: And the Pre-  
 sence and Favour of the Privy Council did  
 much

much raise the one Party, as it depressed the other. In the End of this Year, *Vesey* was again repossessed of the See of *Exeter*, *Coverdale* being now a Prisoner in the Tower. Book III.  
1553.

In the Beginning of the next Year, a great Embassy came from the Emperor, to agree to the Conditions of the Marriage between his Son and the Queen. *Gardiner* took care to have extraordinary ones granted, both to induce the Parliament more easily to consent to it, and to keep the *Spaniards* from being admitted to any Share in the Government, that so he might keep it in his own Hands. But the Emperor was resolved to grant every Thing that should be asked. It was agreed that the Government should be entirely in the Queen, and that though Prince *Philip* was to be named in all Writs, and his Image was to be on the Coin and Seals, yet the Queen's Hand alone was to give Authority to every Thing, without his: No *Spaniard* was to be capable of any Office. No Change was to be made in the Law, nor was the Queen to be required to go out of *England* against her Will: Nor might their Issue go out of *England* but by Consent of the Nobility. The Queen was to have of Jointure Forty Thousand Pounds out of *Spain*, and Twenty Thousand Pounds out of the *Netherlands*: If the Queen had a Son, he was to inherit *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands*, as well as *England*: If Daughters only, they were to succeed to her Crowns, and to have such Portions from *Spain*, as was ordinary to be given to Kings Daughters: The Prince was to have no Share in the Government after her Death: And the Queen might keep up her



Book III. League with *France*, notwithstanding this Match.

1553.  
Which  
provokes  
some to  
rebel.

But this did not satisfy the Nation, which look'd on those Offers only as Baits to hook them into Slavery. The Severities of the *Spanish* Government in all the Provinces that were united to that Crown, and the monstrous Cruelties exercised in the *West-Indies*, were much talk'd of; and it was said *England* must now preserve it self, or be for ever enslaved. *Carew* and *Wiat* undertook to raise the Countrey, the one in *Cornwall*, and the other in *Kent*; and the Duke of *Suffolk* promised to raise the Midland Counties: For the Disposition to rise was general, and might have been fatal to the Queen, if there had been good Heads to have led the People. But before it grew ripe, the Design was discovered, and upon that Sir *Peter Carew* fled to *France*.

*Wiat's*  
Rebelli-  
on.

*Wiat* gathered some Men about him, and on the 25th of *January* he made Proclamation at *Maidstone*, that he intended nothing but to preserve the Nation from the Yoke of Strangers; and assured the People that all *England* would rise. The Sheriff of *Kent* required him, under Pain of Treason, to disperse his Company; but he did not obey his Summons: One *Knevet* raised a Body of Men about *Tunbridge*, and marched towards him, but was intercepted, and routed by a Force commanded by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was sent with 200 Horse, and 600 *Londoners* to dissipate this Insurrection; but some that came over from *Wiat* as Deserters, persuaded the *Londoners* that it was a common Cause, in which they were engaged, to maintain the

Liberty

Liberty of the Nation : So they all went over Book III.  
 to *Wiat*. Upon this, the Duke of *Norfolk* 1554  
 retired back to *London* ; and *Wiat*, who had  
 kept himself under the Defence of *Rocheſter-*  
*Bridge*, advanced towards it. The Duke of  
*Suffolk* made a faint Attempt to raiſe the  
 Country, but it did not ſucceed, and he was  
 taken and brought to the *Tower*. The Queen  
 ſent the offer of a Pardon to *Wiat* and his  
 Men ; but that not being received by them,  
 ſhe ſent ſome of her Council to treat with  
 him. He was blown up with his ſmall Suc-  
 ceſs, and moved that the Queen would come  
 to the *Tower* of *London*, and put the Com-  
 mand of it into his Hands, till a new Coun-  
 cil was ſettled about her : So it appeared there  
 was no Treaty to be thought on. The Queen  
 went into *London*, and made great Proteſta-  
 tions of her Love to her People, and that ſhe  
 would not diſpoſe of herſelf in Marriage, but  
 for the Good of the Nation. *Wiat* was now  
 Four Thouſand ſtrong, and came to *South-*  
*wark*, but could not force the Bridge of *Lon-*  
*don* : He was informed the City would all  
 riſe, if he ſhould come to their Aid ; but he  
 could not find Boats for paſſing over to *Effex*,  
 ſo he was forced to go to the Bridge of *King-*  
*ſton*. On the Fourth of *February* he came  
 thither, but found it cut ; yet his Men mend-  
 ed it, and he got to *Hyde-Park* next Morning.  
 His Men were weary and diſheartned, and  
 now not above 500 ; ſo that though the  
 Queen's Forces could eaſily have diſperſed them,  
 yet they let them go forward, that they might  
 caſt themſelves into their Hands : He marched  
 through the *Strand*, and got to *Ludgate*,  
 where

Book III. where he hoped to have found the Gate opened; but being disappointed, he turned back, and was forsaken by his Men, so that a Herald without using any Force, apprehended him at *Temple-Bar*. It was on *Ash-Wednesday*, and the Queen had shewed such Courage, that she would not stir from *White-hall*, nor would she omit the Devotions of that Day; and this Success was looked on as a Reward from Heaven on her Piety. This raw and ill-formed Rebellion was as lucky for the Ends of the Court, as if *Gardiner* had projected it; for in a weak Government an ill-digested Insurrection raises the Power of the Prince, and adds as much Spirit to his Friends as it depresses the Faction against him; and it also gives a Handle to do some Things, for which it were not easy otherwise to find either Colours or Instruments. The Popish Authors studied to cast the Blame of this on the Reformed Preachers; but did not name any one of them that was in it; so it appears, that what some later Writers have said of *Poinet's* having been in it, is false; otherwise his Name had certainly been put in the Number of those that were attainted for it.

*Lady Jane Gray's Execution.* Upon this, it was resolved to proceed against *Lady Jane Gray*, and her Husband; she had lived six Months in the daily Meditations of Death, so she was not much surprized at it: *Fecknam*, who was sent to prepare her for Death, acknowledged that he was astonished at her calm Behaviour, her great Knowledge, and the extraordinary Sense she had of Religion. She writ to her Father to moderate his Grief for her Death, since it

was

1554.

was great Matter of Joy to her, that she was so near an End of her Miseries, and the Enjoyment of Eternal Glory. One *Harding*, that had been her Father's Chaplain, and a zealous Preacher in King *Edward's* Time, had now changed his Religion: To him she wrote a long and pathetick Letter, setting forth his Apostacy, and the Judgments of God, which he might expect upon it. She sent her *Greek* New Testament to her Sister, with a Letter in *Greek*, recommending the Study of that Book to her, and chiefly the following it in her Practice: These were the last Exercises of this rare young Person. She was at first much moved, when she saw her Husband led out to his Execution, but recovered her self, when she considered how soon she was to follow him: And when he desired they might take leave of one another, she declined it; for she thought it would increase their Grief and Disorder: And continued so settled in her Temper, that she saw his beheaded Body carried to a Chapel in the *Tower*, without expressing any visible Concern about it. She was carried out next to a Scaffold set up within the *Tower*, to hinder great Crouds from looking on a Sight which was like to raise much Compassion in the Spectators. She confessed her Sin, in taking an Honour that was due to another, though it was a Thing neither procured nor desired by her; and acknowledged her other Sins against God; that she had loved herself, and the World too much; and thanked God for making her Afflictions a Means to her Repentance: She declared she died a true Christian, trusting only to the Merits of *Christ*;



Book III. *Christ*; then she repeated the *Lift Psalm*, and stretched out her Head on the Block, which upon the Signal given, was cut off. Her Death was as much lamented, as her Life had been admired. It affected Judge *Morgan*, that had pronounced the Sentence, so much, that he run mad, and thought she still followed him. The Queen herself was troubled at it; for it was rather Reason of State, than private Resentment, that set her on to it.

Several  
others  
suffered.

Her Father was soon after tried by his Peers, and condemned and executed. He was the less pitied, because by his Means his Daughter was brought to her untimely End. *Wiat* was brought to his Trial, he begged his Life in a most abject Manner; but he was condemned and executed, and so were Fifty Eight more: Six Hundred of the Rabble were appointed to come with Ropes about their Necks, and beg the Queen's Pardon, which was granted them. A Slander was cast on the Earl of *Devonshire*, and Lady *Elizabeth*, as if they had set on the Rising that was intended in the *West*. *Wiat*, in hopes of Life had accused them, but he did them Justice at his Death; yet they were both put in Prison upon it. Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was accused of the same Crime, but after a long Trial he was acquitted; yet his Jury were hardly used, and severely fined. Sir *John Cheek* was sought for: So he fled beyond Sea, but both he and Sir *Peter Carew*, hoping that *Philip* would be glad to signalize his first coming to *England* with Acts of Grace, rendered themselves to him: After that, *Cheek* was again taken in *Flanders*, upon a new  
Sus-

Suspicion, and to deliver himself out of his Book III. Trouble, he renounced his Religion: But though he got his Liberty upon that, yet he 1554. could never recover the Quiet of his Mind; so he languished for some Time, and died.

There was at this Time a base Imposture The Im- discovered in London; one seemed to speak posture of out of a Wall, in a strange Tone of Voice. the Spirit Great Numbers flock'd about the House, and in the several Things, both relating to Religion, and Wall. the State, were uttered by it; but it was found to be one *Elizabeth Crofts*, who by the Help of a Whistle spoke those Words through a Hole in the Wall. There was no other Com- plice found, but one *Drake*, and they both were made to do Penance for it publickly at St. Paul's.

Injunctions were now given to the Bishops, to execute such Ecclesiastical Laws as had been Injuncti- in Force in King *Henry's* Time: That in their ons sent to the Bi- Courts they should proceed in their own shops. Names; that the Oath of Supremacy should be no more exacted: None suspected of Heresy was to be put in Orders; they were requi- red to suppress Heresy and Hereticks, and to turn out all Married Clergymen, and to se- parate them from their Wives: If they left their Wives, they might put them in some other Cure, or reserve a Pension for them, out of their Livings: None that had vowed Chastity, was to be suffered to live with his Wife: Those that were Ordained by the Book set out in King *Edward's* Time, were to be confirmed by all the other Rites then left out, and that was declared to be no valid Ordination.

The

Book III. The Queen gave also a Special Commission  
 ~~~~~ to Bonner, Gardiner, Tonsal, Day, and Ki-

1554. chin, to proceed against the Arch-bishop of
 Many Bi-York, and the Bishops of St. David's, Chester,
 shops and Bristol, and to deprive them of their Bi-
 turn'd out. shopricks, for having contracted Marriage,
 Holgate, and thereby having broken their Vows, and
 Ferrar, defiled their Function. " She also authorized
 Bird, Bush, " them to call before them the Bishops of
 Taylor, " Lincoln, Gloucester and Hereford, who held
 Hooper, " their Bishopricks only during their good
 Harley. " Behaviour; and since they had done
 " Things contrary to the Laws of God, and
 " the Practice of the Universal Church, to
 " declare their Bishopricks void, *as they were*
indeed already void. And thus were Seven of
 the Reformed Bishops turned out at a Dash.
 It was much censured, that those who had
 married according to a Law then in Force,
 which was now only repealed for the Future,
 should be deprived for it: And this was a new
 Severity: For in former Times, when the
 Popes were most set against the Marriage of
 the Clergy, it was put to their Option, whe-
 ther they would part with their Wives, or
 with their Benefices: But none were summa-
 rily deprived, as was now done. The other
 Bishops, without any Form of Process, or
 special Matter objected to them, were turned
 out, by an Act of meer Arbitrary Govern-
 ment. And all this was done by Virtue of
 the Queen's being *Head of the Church*; which
 though she condemned as a sinful and sacrile-
 gious Power, yet she now employed it against
 those Bishops, whose Sees were quickly filled
 with Men, in whom the Queen confided.

Goodrick died this Year: It seems he conf- Book III.

plied with the Change now made, otherwise he that put the Seal to Lady *Jane's* Patents, could not escape being questioned for it. He

1554.

was an ambitious Man, and so no wonder, if Earthly Considerations prevailed more with him, than a good Conscience. *Scory*, who was Bishop of *Chichester*, renounced his Wife, and did Penance for his Marriage; but soon after he fled beyond Sea, and returned in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign: So that his Compliance was the Effect of his Weakness and Fears. *Barlow* resigned *Bath* and *Wells*, and a Book of Recantation was published in his Name, containing severe Reflections both on the Reformers, and on the Reformation it self; but it is not certain, whether it was writ by him, or was only a Forgery put out in his Name; for if he turned so heartily, as the Strain of that Book runs, it is not likely that he would have been put from his Bishoprick; but he fled beyond Sea: Yet it seems, both *Scory* and *he* gave great offence by their Behaviour; for though they were the only surviving Reformed Bishops when Queen *Elizabeth* succeeded, yet they were so far from being promoted, that they were not so much as restored to their former sees, but put in meaner ones. By all these deprivations and Resignations, there were sixteen new Bishops made, which made no small Change in the Face of the *English* Church. Now the Old Service was every where set up, in which *Bonner* made such haste, that before the Royal Assent was given to the Bill for it, he began the Old Service and

Book III. and Processions. The first opening of it was somewhat strange, for it being on St. Katherine's Day, the Choristers went up to the Steeple, and sung the Anthem there, according to the Custom for that Day. Great Numbers of the Clergy were summarily deprived for being Married; they were estimated by *Parker* to be *Twelve Thousand*, and most of them were judged upon common Fame, without any Process but a Citation; and many being then in Prison, yet were censured, and put out for Contumacy, and held guilty. Many Books were written against the Marriage of the Clergy; and the accusing them of Impurity and Sensuality on that Account, was one of the chief Topicks used by the Popish Clergy, to disgrace the Reformers; which made some recriminate too indecently, and lay open the Filthiness of the Unmarried Clergy, and those that were called Religious, who led most irregular Lives; in particular, it was said, *Bonner* had no Reason to be a Friend to that State, for he was the Bastard of a Bastard, and his Father, though a Priest, begat him in Adultery.

A new
Parliament.

On the 2d of *April* a Parliament met, the most considerable Members were beforehand corrupted by *Gardiner*, who gave them Pensions, some 200, and others 100*l.* a Year for their Voices. The first Act that passed was Declaratory, that all the Prerogatives and Limitations, which by Law belonged to the Kings of *England*, were the same, whether the Crown fell into the Hands of a Male or Female. The Secret of this was little known, some were afraid there was an ill Design in

and that it being declared that she had all the Authority, which any of her Progenitors ever had, it might be inferred from thence, that she might pretend to a Right of Conquest, and so seize on the Estates of the *English*, as William the Conqueror had done ; but it was so conceived, that the Queen was put under the same Limitations, as well as acknowledged to have the same Prerogatives with her Progenitors : The Secret of this was afterwards discovered. A Projecting Man, that had served *Cromwell*, and loved to meddle much, had been deeply engaged both in Lady *Jane's* Business, and in the late Insurrection, and was now in Danger of his Life, so he made Application to the Emperor's Ambassador, and by his Means obtained his Pardon. He offered a Project, That the Queen should declare, that she succeeded to the Crown by the Common-Law, but was not tied by the Statute-Law, which did only bind Kings, and therefore a Queen was not obliged by it ; thus she might pretend to be a Conqueror, and rule at Pleasure ; and by this Means might restore both Religion, and the *Abbey-Lands*, and be under no Restraint : This the Ambassador brought to the Queen, and prayed her to keep it very secret : But she disliked it ; yet she sent for *Gardiner*, and charged him to give her his Opinion of it sincerely, as he should answer to God for it at the great Day. He read it carefully, and told her, it was a most pernicious Contrivance, and begg'd her not to listen to such Platforms, which might be brought her by base Sycophants : Upon this she burnt the Paper, and charged the Am-

Book III.

1554.

A Proposition to make the Queen absolute.

Ambassador not to bring her any more such Projects. This gave *Gardiner* great Apprehensions of the Mischiefs that *Spanish* Counsels might bring on the Nation; and so he procured the Act to be made, by which the Queen was bound by the Law, as much as her Ancestors were. He also got an Act to be pass'd, ratifying the Articles of the Marriage, with strong Clauses for keeping the Government entirely in the Queen's Hands; that so *Philip* might not take it on him, as *Henry* the VIIth had done, when he married the Heir of the House of York: For, as he set up a Title in his own Name, and kept the Government in his own Hands; so the *Spaniards* began to reckon a Descent from *John* of Gaunt; which made *Gardiner* the more cautious. And it must be confessed, that the preserving the Nation out of the Hands of the *Spaniards*, was almost only owing to his Care and Wisdom. The Bishoprick of *Durham* was again restored, after a vigorous Resistance made by those of *Gate-side*, near *Newcastle*. The Attainders of the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Fifty-eight more, for the late Rebellion, were confirmed. The Commons sent up four several Bills against *Lollards*, one confirming the Act of the six Articles, and others against Erroneous Opinions; but they were all laid aside by the Lords: For, the corrupted Members in the Lower-House were officious to shew their Zeal for *Spain* and *Popery*. Another Bill was sent up by them, That the Bishop of *Rome* should have no Authority to trouble any for possessing *Abbey-Lands*. But it was said, this

was

was preposterous to begin with a Limitation Book III.
of the Pope's Authority, before they had acknowledged that he had any Power at all in
England: And that would come in more properly, after they had reconciled the Nation to him.

1554.

New Disputations
at Oxford
with Cranmer.

During this Parliament, the Convocation sat; and that they might remove the Objections that some made to the Disputations at their last meeting, that the ablest Men of the Reformers were kept in Prison, while that Cause was debated, they sent a Committee of their ablest Men to Oxford, to dispute with Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, who were also sent thither. The Points to be disputed about, were Transubstantiation, and the Sacrifice of the Mass. When Cranmer was brought before them, and they exhorted him to return to the Unity of the Church; he answered, That he was always for that Unity which could consist with Truth. They fell into a long Dispute concerning the Words of the Institution: That they must be true, for Christ was Truth, and was then making his Testament. Many Passages of the Fathers were also alledged against him: It was said, that he had translated many Things falsely out of the Fathers, in his Book: And the Prolocutor called him often an *Unlearned and Impudent Man*. But he carried himself with that Gravity and Mildness, that many were observed to be much affected at it, and to weep. He vindicated his Sincerity in his Book; he shewed that figurative Speeches were true; and when the Figures were clearly understood, they were likewise plain: He said,

The

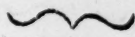

The Sacrament was effectually and really Christ's Body, as it was broken on the Cross, that is, his Passion effectually applyed to us. The whole Action was carried with such hissing and insulting, and ended with such Shouts of Triumph, as if *Cranmer* had been quite baffled, that it was visible there was nothing intended, but to abuse the ignorant People, and make them believe he was run down. *Ridley* was brought out next Day; he began with deep Protestations of his Sincerity, and that he had changed the Opinion he had been bred up in, meerly upon the Force of Truth; he argued from the Scriptures, that speak of Christ's leaving the World, and sitting at the Right Hand of God, and that the Sacrament was a Memorial, which good and bad might equally receive; that it was against the Human Nature, to swallow down a living Man; that this Opinion was contrary to the Humanity of Christ, and was a new Doctrine unknown to the Fathers, and brought into the Church in the latter Ages. *Smith* argued against him, from Christ's appearing to *St. Stephen*, and to *St. Paul*, that he might be in more Places at once. *Ridley* said, Christ might either come down and appear to them, or a Representation might be made of him, but he could not be both in Heaven and Earth at once. Many of *Cranmer's* Expressions were alledged, but he said, these were Rhetorical Figures, and might be explained by other plainer Passages. The Dispute was carried on with the same Insultings, that had been used the Day before: And in Conclusion, *Weston* the Prolocutor said,

1554.

they saw the Obstinancy, Vain-glory, and Inconstancy of that Man, but they saw likewise the Force of Truth ; so he bid them cry out with him, *Truth has the Victory* : Upon which that was ecchoed over and over again, by the whole Assembly. *Latimer* was brought out next Day, he told them he was Fourscore Years Old, and not fit for disputing, so he would declare his Opinion, and then leave them to say what they pleased. He thought the Sacrament was only a Memorial of Christ ; all who fed on Christ had Eternal Life, and therefore that feeding could not be meant of the Sacrament, since both good and bad received it ; he said, his Memory was much impaired, but his Faith was founded on the Word of God ; so that though he could not Dispute well, yet his Faith was firmly rooted. Upon this, there were extraordinary Shouts raised, and during the whole Debates, the Noise and Disorder was such, that it look'd like a Country Game, than a Dispute among Divines ; four or five spoke oft at once, so that it was not possible to hear what they said, much less to answer it. The Committee of Convocation condemned them all as obstinate Hereticks, and declared them to be no Members of the Church. They appealed from their sentence to the Judgment of God, and expressed great Joy in the Hopes they had, they would glorify God by dying for his Truth. *Cranmer* sent a Petition to the Council complaining of the Disorder of these Disputes, and of huddling them up in such haste, that it was visible nothing was intended by them, but to shuffle up Things so, that the World might

Book III. might be more easily abused with the Name
 of a Disputation. But this was not delivered,
 1554. for it was intended to keep up this Boasting,
 that the Champions of the Reformation were
 publickly baffled.

It was also resolved to carry some of the
 Prisoners that were in *London*, to *Cambridge*,
 and there to erect new Trophies in the same
 Manner they had done at *Oxford*. Upon
 this, three of the imprisoned Bishops, and
 seven Divines, signed a Paper, by which they
 declared, that they would engage in no Dis-
 pute, except it were in Writing, unless it
 were in the Presence of the Queen, or the
 Council, or before either of the Houses of
 Parliament. It was visible, the Design of
 Disputing was not to find out the Truth,
 otherwise it had been done, before these
 Points had been so positively determined:
 But now there was no Benefit to be expected
 by it; nor could they look for fair Dealings,
 where their Enemies were to be their Judges:
 Nor would they suffer them to speak their
 Minds freely, and after so long an Imprison-
 ment, their Books and Papers being kept from
 them, they could not be furnished to answer
 many Things that might be objected to them.
 Then they added a short Account of their Per-
 suasions in the chief Points of Controversy,
 which they would be ready to defend on fair
 and equal Terms: And concluded with a
 Charge to all People not to rebel against
 the Queen, but to obey all her Commands,
 that were not contrary to the Law of God.

In July, Prince Philip landed at Southamp- Book III.
on: When he set Foot to Land, he drew his 
Sword, and carried it a little way naked in 1554.
his Hand. This was interpreted, as a Sign The
that he intended to rule by the Sword; but Prince
his Friends said, it imported, that he would of Spain
draw his Sword for the Defence of the Na- lands, and
tion. The Mayor of Southampton brought marries
him the Keys of the Town, which he took the
from him, and gave them back, without the Queen.
least Shew of his being pleased with this Ex-
pression of that Respect done him. This not
being suitable to the Genius of the Nation,
that is much taken with gracious Looks of
their Princes, was thought a Sign of vast
pride and Moroseness. The Queen met him
at Winchester, where they were married; he
was then in the XXVIIth, and she in the
XXVIIIth Year of her Age. The Emperor
assigned to him his Titular Kingdom of Jeru-
salem, and his more valuable one of Naples;
they were proclaimed with a Pompous
enumeration of their Titles. The King's
gravity was very unacceptable to the English,
who love a Mein between the Stiffness of the
Spaniards, and the Gaiety of the French. But
they did not like his Temper, they were
not of Measure in Love with his Bounty and
wealth: For he brought over a vast Treasure
with him, the greatest part of which was di-
tributed among those, who for his Spanish 
policy, had sold their Country and Religion.
On his coming to London, he procured the
imprisonment of many Prisoners, and among
others, of Holgate Archbishop of York, of
whom I find no mention made after this. It
is

Book III. is very likely he changed his Religion, otherwise it is not probable that *Philip* would have interceded for him. He also interposed for preserving Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Devonshire*. *Gardiner* was much set against them, and thought they made but half Work as long as she lived. *Wiat* had accused them in hopes of saving his Life; but when that did not preserve him, he did publicly vindicate them on the Scaffold. The Earl of *Devonshire*, to be freed from all Jealousy, went beyond Sea, and died a Year after in *Italy* as some say, of Poison. *Philip* at first took care to preserve Lady *Elizabeth*, on a generous Account, pitying her Innocence, and hoping by so acceptable an Act of Favour to recommend himself to the Nation: But Interest did soon after fortify those good and wise Inclinations; for when he grew to be out of hope of Issue by the Queen, he considered that the Queen of *Scotland*, who was soon after married to the *Dauphin*, was next in Succession after Lady *Elizabeth*; so if she should be put out of the Way, the Crown of *England* would have become an Accession to the *French* Crown; and therefore took care to preserve her; and perhaps he hoped to have wrought so much on her, by the good Office he did her, that if her Sister should die without Children, she might be induced to marry him. But this was the only grateful Thing he did in *England*. He affected so extravagant a State, and was so fullen and silent, that it was not easy for any to come within his Court; and Access to him was not to be had without demanding it with almost as much Force

Formality as Ambassadors used when they de- Book III.
fired an Audience : So that a general Discon-
tent was quickly spread into most Places of 1554.
the Kingdom ; only *Gardiner* was well pleased, for the Conduct of Affairs was put entirely in his Hands. Many malicious Reports were spread of the Queen, particularly in *Norfolk* ; at one of these the Queen was much concerned, which was, that she was with Child before the King came over ; but after great Examinations, nothing could be made out of it.

The Bishops went to make their Visitation this Summer, to see whether the old Service, with all its Rites, was again set up ; they also enquired concerning the Lives and Labours of the Clergy, of their Marriage, and their living chafly ; whether they were suspected of Heresy, or favouring Hereticks ? Whether they went to Taverns or Ale-houses ? Whether they admitted any to officiate, that had been ordained schismatically, before they were reconciled ; or to preach, if they had not obtained a License ? Whether they visited the sick, and administered the Sacraments reverently ? Whether they were guilty of Merchandise or Usury ? And whether they did at once every Quarter at least, expound to the People the Elements of the Christian Religion in the vulgar Tongue ? They did not proceed steadily, in Relation to the Ordinations made in King *Edward's* Time ; for at this time all that they did, was to add the Ceremonies that were then left out in the Book of Ordinations ; but afterwards they carried themselves, as if they had esteemed those Orders

ders of no Force; and therefore they did not degrade those Bishops or Priests, that had been ordained by it: Nor has the Church of *Rome* been steady in this Matter; for though upon some Schisms, they have annulled all Ordinations made in them; yet they have not annulled the Ordinations of the *Greek* Church, though they esteem the *Greeks* both Hereticks and Schismaticks. Thus there were many Questions put in among the Articles of the Visitation, yet these were asked only for Form, the main Business was Heresy, and the performing all Offices according to the old Customs: And the least failing in these Matters, was more severely enquired after, and more exemplarily punished, than far greater Offences. *Bonner* carried himself like a Mad man; and it was said by his Friends, to excuse the Violences of his Rage, that his Brain were a little disordered by his long Imprisonment: For if either the Bells had not rung when he came near any Church, or if he had not found the Sacrament exposed, he was apt to break out into the foulest Language: And not content with that, he was accustomed to beat his Clergy, when he was displeased with any Thing: For he was naturally cruel and brutal. He took care to have those Places of Scripture, that had been painted on the Walls of the Churches, to be washed off: And on this it was said, That it was necessary to dash out the Scripture, to make way for Images, for they agreed so ill, that they could not decently stand together. Many mock Poems and Satyrs were flying up and down: and none was more provoking, than one that

lowed on an Accident at St. Paul's on *Easter*. Book III.
 Day: The Custom was to lay the Host in the
 Sepulchre at Even-Song, on *Good-Friday*, and
 to take it out on *Easter Morning*; the Choir
 sung these Words, *He is risen, he is not here*,
 when it was taken out: But when they look'd
 to take it out, they found it was not there
 indeed, for one had stolen it away, but ano-
 ther was quickly brought; so a Ballad was
 made, that their God was lost, but a new one
 was put in his Room: Great Pains were ta-
 ken to discover the Author of this, but he was
 not found.

1554.

The Queen's third Parliament met on the Another
 14th of *November*: In the Writ of Sum-Parlia-
 ments the Queen's Title of *Supreme Head* was ment.
 set out, though she had hitherto not only
 used the Name, but had assumed the Power
 supported by it, to a high Degree. *Pool* was
 now suffered to come so near as *Flanders*: And
 the Temper of the Parliament being quickly
 found to be favourable to the Work he came
 to, the Queen sent two Lords, *Paget* and
Staffords, for him. Both King and Queen
 were in State to *Westminster*, and each had a
 word of State carried before them. The first
 Bill that pass'd, was a Repeal of *Pool's* Attain-
 tment; it was read by the Commons three Times
 one Day; and the Bill was passed without
 making a Session by a short Prorogation. He
 came over, and entred privately to *London*,
 the 24th of *November*; for the Pope's Au-
 thority not being yet acknowledged, he could
 not be received as a Legate. His Instructions
 were full, besides the Authority commonly
 used with Legates; which consists chiefly in

Book III. the many Graces and Dispensations that they are empowered to grant; though it might be expected, that they should come rather to see the Canons obeyed, than broken: Only the more scandalous Abuses were still reserved to the Popes themselves, whose special Prerogative it has always been, to be the most eminent Transgressors of all Canons and Constitutions.

The Nati-
on is re-
conciled
to the See
of Rome.

Pool made his first Speech to the King and Queen, and then to the Parliament, in the Name of the common Pastor, inviting them to return to the Sheepfold of the Church. The Queen felt a strange Emotion of Joy within her, as he made his Speech, which she thought was a Child quickned in her Belly; and the flattering Court Ladies heightened her Belief of it. The Council ordered *Bonner* to sing *Te Deum*; and there were Bonfires, and other publick Demonstrations of Joy upon it. The Priests said, that here was another *Baptist* to come, that leap'd in his Mother's Belly upon the Salutation from Christ's *W*car. Both Houses agreed on an Address to the King and Queen, that they would intercede with the Legate, to reconcile them to the See of Rome, and they offered to repeal all the Laws they had made against the Pope's Authority, in Sign of their Repentance. Upon this, the Cardinal came to the Parliament. He first thanked them for repealing his *Interdiction*, in recompence of which, he was to reconcile them to the Body of the Church. He made a long Speech, of the Conversion of the *Britons* and *Saxons* to the Faith, and the Obedience they had paid to the Church.

Stolick See; and of the many Favours that Book III.
See had granted the Crown, of which none
was more eminent than the Title of *Defender* 1554.

of the Faith. The Ruin of the *Greek Church*,
and the Distractions of *Germany*, and the
Confusions themselves had been in, since
they departed from the Unity of the Church,
might convince them of the Necessity of
keeping that Bond entire. In Conclusion,
he gave them and the whole Nation a
Plenary Absolution. The rest of the Day
was spent in singing *Te Deum*, and the
Night in Bonfires. The Act, repealing all
Laws made against the Pope's Authority, was
quickly past, only it stuck a little, by Reason
of a Proviso, which the House of Lords put
in for some Lands, which the Lord *Wentworth*
had of the See of *London*, which the Com-
mons opposed so much, that after the Bill
was offered to the Royal Assent, it was cut out
of the Parchment by *Gardiner*. ' They did
enumerate and repeal all Acts made since
the 20th of *Hen. 8.* against the Pope's Au-
thority; but all Foundations of Bishopricks
and Cathedrals, all Marriages, though con-
trary to the Laws of the Church, all Insti-
tutions, all Judicial Processes, and the Set-
tlements made, either of Church or *Abbey*-
Lands, were confirmed. The Convocation
of *Canterbury* had joined their Intercession
with the Cardinal, that he would confirm
the Right of the present Possessors of those
Lands: Upon which he did confirm them,
but he added a heavy Charge, requiring
those that had any of the Goods of the
Church, to remember the Judgments of

' God that fell on *Belsazzar*, for profaning
 ' the Holy Vessels, though they were not ta-
 ' ken away by himself, but by his Father;
 ' and that, at least, they would take care,
 ' that such as served the Cures, should be suf-
 ' ficiently maintained; all which was put in
 ' the Act, and confirmed by it; and it was
 ' declared, That all Suits concerning those
 ' Lands were to be tried in the Civil Courts;
 ' And that it should be a *Premunire*, if any
 ' went about to disturb the Possessors, by the
 ' Pretence of an Ecclesiastical Power. They
 ' also declared, That the Title of *Supreme*
 ' *Head of the Church*, did never of Right be-
 ' long to the Crown; and enacted that it
 ' should be left out of Writs in all Time
 ' coming. All Exemptions granted to Mo-
 ' nasteries, and now continued in Lay-hands,
 ' were taken away, and all Churches were
 ' made subject to Episcopal Jurisdiction, ex-
 ' cept *Westminster*, *Windsor*, and the Town
 ' of *London*. The Statute of *Mortmain* was
 ' repealed for 20 Years to come, and all
 ' Things were brought back to the State in
 ' which they were, in the 20th Year of King
 ' *Henry's* Reign'. The Lower-House of
 ' Convocation gave Occasion to many Clauses
 ' in this Act, by a Petition which they made
 ' to the Upper-House, ' Consenting to the Se-
 ' tlement made of Church and *Abbey-Lands*
 ' and praying that the Statute of *Mortmain*
 ' might be repealed, and that all the Tythes
 ' might be restored to the Church: They
 ' proposed also Things in relation to Reli-
 ' gion, for the condemning and burning all He-
 ' retical Books, and that great Care should

be had of the Printing and Venting of Book III.
 Books; that the Church should be restored
 to its former Jurisdiction, that Pluralities
 and Non-residence might be effectually con-
 demned, and all Simoniackal Pactions pu-
 nished; that the Clergy might be dischar-
 ged of paying First-Fruits and Tenths; that
 Exemptions might be taken away; that all
 the Clergy should go in their Habits, and
 that they should not be sued in a *Præmunire*,
 till a Prohibition were first served, and dis-
 obeyed, that so they might not be surpriz-
 ed and ruined a second Time". By ano-
 ther Bill all former Acts made against *Lol-
 lards* were revived, The Commons offered
 another Bill for voiding all Leases made by
 married Priests, but it was laid aside by the
 Lords. Thus were the Pensioners and aspiring
 Men in the House of Commons, either re-
 leeming former Faults, or hoping to merit
 highly by the Forwardness of their Zeal. By
 another Bill several Things were made Treason:
 And it was declared, that if the
 Queen died before the King, and left any
 Children, the King should have the Go-
 vernment in his Hands, till they were of
 Age; and during that Time the conspiring
 his Death was made *Treason*, but none
 were to be tried for Words, but within six
 Months after they were spoken. Another
 Act past declaring it Treason in any to pray
 for the Queen's Death, unless they repented
 of it, and in that Case they were to suffer
 Corporal Punishment at the Judges Discre-
 tion. A severe Act was also passed against
 all that spread lying Reports of the King,

Book III. the Queen, the Peers, Judges, or great Officers. Some were to lose their Hands, others their Ears, and others were to be fined according to the Degree of their Offence.

Gardiner's And thus all Affairs were carried in Parliamt as well as the Court could wish: And the Steps upon this, *Gardiner's* Reputation was much raised, for bringing about so great a Change in so little Time, with so little Opposition. He took much Pains to remove all the Objections that were generally made use of: They were chiefly Two, the one was the Fear of coming under such Tyranny from Rome, as their Ancestors had groaned under; and the other was the Loss of the *Abbey-Lands*. But to the first he said, that all the old Laws against Provisions from Rome, should still continue in Force: And to shew them, that Legates should exercise no dangerous Authority in England, he made *Pool* take out a License, under the Great Seal, for his Legatine Power. As for the other, he promised both an Act of Parliament, and Convocation, confirming them, and undertook that the Pope should ratify these, as well as his Legate did now consent to them. But to all this, it was answered, that if the Nation were again brought under the old Superstition, and the Papal Authority established, it would not be possible to bridle that Power, which would be no longer within Limits, if once they became Masters again, and brought the World under a blind Obedience. It was objected, that the Church-Lands must be certainly taken back, it was not likely the Pope would confirm the Alienation of them; but though he should do it,

yet

yet his Successors might annul that as Sacrilegious. And it was observed in the Charge which *Pool* gave to all to make Restitution, and by the Repeal of the Statute of *Mortmain*, that it was intended to possess the Nation with an Opinion of the Unlawfulness of keeping those Lands; which would probably work much on Men that were near Death, and could not resist the Terrors of Purgatory, or perhaps of Hell, for the Sin of Sacrilege: and so would be easily induced to make Restitution of them, especially at such a Time when they were not able to possess them any longer themselves.

Now the Parliament was at an End: And Consultations about the first Thing taken into Consideration, was, what way they ought to proceed against the Hereticks. *Pool* had been suspected to bear some Way of Favour to them formerly, but he took great Care to avoid all Occasions of being any more blamed for that: And indeed he lived in that Distrust of all the *English*, that he opened his Thoughts to very few: For his chief Confidants were two *Italians* that came over with him, *Priuli* and *Ormaneto*. Secretary *Cecil*, who in Matters of Religion complied with the present Time, was observed to have more of his Favour than any *Englishman* had. *Pool* was an Enemy to all severe Proceedings; he thought Church-Men should have the Tenderness of a Father, and the Care of a Shepherd, and ought to reduce, but not devour the stray Sheep: He had observed that Cruelty rather inflamed than cured that Distemper: He thought the better and surer Way, was to begin with an effectual Reformation of the

Proceed-
ing a-
gainst He-
reticks.

Book III. Manners of the Clergy, since it was the Scandals given by their ill Conduct and Ignorance, that was the chief Cause of the Growth of Heresy : So he concluded, that if a Primitive Discipline should be revived, the Nation would by degrees lay down their Prejudices, and might in Time be gained by gentle Methods. *Gardiner*, on the other Hand, being of an abject and cruel Temper himself, thought the strict Execution of the Laws against the *Lollards*, was that to which they ought chiefly to trust : If the Preachers were made publick Examples, he concluded the People would be easily reclaimed : For he pretended, that it was visible, if King *Henry* had executed the Act of the Six Articles vigorously, all would have submitted : He confessed a Reformation of the Clergy was a good Thing, but all Times could not bear it : If they should proceed feverely against scandalous Church-Men, the Hereticks would take Advantage from that, to defame the Church the more, and raise a Clamour against all Clergymen. *Gardiner's* Spite was at this Time much whetted by the reprinting of his Books of true Obedience, which was done at *Strasburg*, and sent over. In it he had called King *Henry's* Marriage with Queen *Katherine*, Incestuous, and had justified his Divorce, and his second Marriage with his most godly and virtuous Wife, Queen *Anne*. This was a severe exposing of him, but he had Brow enough, and bore down these Reproaches, by saying, *Peter* had denied his Master : But others said, that such a Compliance of Twenty Five Years continuance, was very unjustly compared to a sudden

Denial, that was presently expiated with so sincere a Repentance. The Queen was for joining both these Councils together, and intended to proceed at the same Time, both against scandalous Church-Men and Hereticks. After the Parliament was over, there was a solemn Procession of many Bishops and Priests, Bonner carrying the Host, to thank God for reconciling the Nation again to St. Peter's Chair; and it having been done on St. Andrew's Day, that was appointed to be an Anniversary, and was called, *The Feast of the Reconciliation*.

Book III.

1554

But soon after began the Persecution; Rogers, Hooper, Taylor, Bradford, and seven more were brought before the Council, and asked one by one, if they would return to the Union of the Catholick Church, and acknowledge the Pope: But they all answered resolutely, That they had renounced the Pope's Power, as all the Bishops had also done: They were assured he had no Authority, but over his own Diocese, for the first four Ages, so they could not submit to his Tyranny. Gardiner told them, Mercy was now offered them; but if they rejected it, Justice would be done next: So they were all sent back to Prison, except one, who had great Friends; so he was only asked, if he would be an honest Man, and upon that Promise was dismiss'd. They began with Rogers, whose Imprisonment was formerly mentioned. Many had advised him to make his Escape, and fly to Germany: But he would not do it, though a Family of ten Children was a great Temptation.

1555.

A Persecution set on Foot.

Both

Book III.

Both He and *Hooper* were brought before *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonstall*, and three other Bishops. They asked them, Whether they would submit to the Church, or not? But they answered, That they looked on the Church of *Rome* as Anti-Christian. *Gardiner* said, that was a Reproach on the Queen. *Rogers* said, they honoured the Queen, and look'd for no ill at her Hands, but as she was set on to it by them: Upon that *Gardiner*, and the other Bishops declared, that so far were they from setting on the Queen to the executing of the Law, that she commanded them to do it; and this was confirmed by two Privy-Counsellors that were present. In Conclusion, they gave them Time till next Morning to consider what they would do, and then they continuing firm, they declared them obstinate Hereticks, and degraded them: But they did not esteem *Hooper* a Bishop, so he was only degraded from the Order of Priesthood. *Rogers* was not suffered to see his Wife nor his Children; yet so little did this terrible Sentence fright him, that the Morning of his Execution, he was so fast asleep, that he was not easily awakened: He was carried from *Newgate* to *Smithfield*, on the 4th of *February*; a Pardon was offered him at the Stake, if he would recant, but he refused it on such Terms; and said, he would not exchange a quick Fire for everlasting Burnings; but declared that he resigned up his Life with Joy, as a Testimony to the Doctrine which he had preached. *Hooper* was sent to *Gloucester*, at which he rejoyced, for he hoped by his Death to confirm many

Rogers and
Hooper
condemn-
ed and
burnt.

there. He spake to several whom he had formerly known; some of them, in Compassion to him, wept by him, which made him shed Tears; but he said, all he had suffered in his Imprisonment, had not moved him to do so much: He was burnt on the 9th of *February*: A Pardon was also offered him at the Stake, but to no effect. A great Wind blew while he was burning, and hindered the Flame to rise up and choke him, or destroy his Vitals; so that he was near three quarters of an Hour in great Torment, but he continued still calling on God; his last Words were, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit*. *Saunders*, who had been Minister at *Coventry*, and *Taylor*, that was Minister at *Hadley*, were at the same Time condemned, and sent to be burnt at the Places where they had served: The former was first committed for Preaching without License, after the Queen's Prohibition; and the latter for making Opposition to some Priests, that broke violently into his Church, and said Mass in it. *Gardiner* was in hope, that these four Executions being made in several Parts of *England*, would have struck so general a Terror in the whole Party, that there would have been little Occasion for further Severities: But when he saw six more were soon after apprehended on the same Account, and that the Spirits of those called *Hereticks*, were now rather inflamed than depressed, he resolved to meddle no more in those Trials; and turned over that invidious Matter to *Bonner*, whose Temper was so cruel, that he undertook cheerfully.

These

Book III. These Severities were very hateful to the Nation. It was observed, that in King Edward's

1555. *ward's* Time, those that opposed the Law were only turned out of their Benefices, and some few of them were put into Prison; but now Men were put in Prison on trifling Pretences, and kept there till Laws were made, by which they were condemned merely for their Opinion, for they had acted nothing contrary to Law. One Piece of Cruelty was also singular: When the Council sent away those that were to be burnt in the Country, they threatened to cut out their Tongues, if they would not promise to make no Speeches to the People; which they, to avoid the Butchery, were forced to promise. Some made Reflections on the Length and Sharpness of *Hooper's* Torment, as a Punishment on him, for the Contest he had raised in the Church about the Vestments: *Ridley* and *Rochester* had been entirely reconciled, and writ very affectionate Letters to one another. The Sense they had of those Differences, when they were preparing for another World, and that bitter Passage through which they were to go to it, ought to inspire all others with more moderate Thoughts in such Matters. Those that loved the Reformation, were not possessed with great Aversion to the Popish Party, and the whole Body of the Nation grew to dislike this Cruelty; and came to hate King *Philip* for it. *Gardiner*, and the other Counsellors had openly said, that the Queen set them on to it, so the Blame of it was laid on the King, the Soreness of whose Temper, together with his Bigottry in Mat-



of Religion, made it seem reasonable to Book III.

charge him with it. He finding that this is like to raise such Prejudices against him, might probably spoil his Design of making himself Master of *England*, took care to vindicate himself; so his Confessor *Alphonfus*, a *Franciscan*, preached a Sermon at Court, against taking away Peoples Lives for Opinions in Religion; and inveighed against the Bishops for doing it: By this, the Blame was turned back on them, and this made them stop for some Weeks; but at last they resolved rather to bear the Blame of the Persecution avowedly, than not to go on in it.

At this Time a Petition was printed beyond the Sea; by which the Reformers addressed themselves to the Queen; they set before her the danger of her being carried by a blind Zeal, to destroy the Members of Christ, as *St. Paul* had done before his Conversion: They reminded her of *Cranmer's* interposing to preserve her Life in her Father's Time: They produced many Passages out of *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, and *Tonstall*, by which she might see that they were not acted by true Principles of Conscience, but were turned as their Fears or Interests led them. They shewed her how contrary Persecution was to the Spirit of the Gospel; that Christians tolerated *Jews*; and that *Turks*, notwithstanding the Barbarity of their Tempers, and the Cruelty of their Religion, yet tolerated Christians. They reminded her, that the first Law for burning in *England*, was made by *Henry IV*, as a reward to the Bishops, who had helped him to depose *Richard the Second*, and so to mount

Arguments against them.

Book III. mount to the Throne. They represented

her, that God had trusted her with the Sword, which she ought to employ for the Protection of her People, and was not to abandon them to the Cruelty of such Wolves: The Petition also turned to the Nobility, and the rest of the Nation; and the Dangers of a Spanish Yoke, and a bloody Inquisition were set before them. Upon this, the Popish Authority writ several Books in Justification of their Proceedings. They observed that the Jews were commanded to put Blasphemers to Death; and said, the Hereticks blasphemed the Body of Christ, and called it only a piece of Bread. It became Christians to be more zealous for the true Religion, than Heathens were for the false: St. Peter by a Divine Power, struck *Ananias* and *Sapphira* dead. Christ in the Parable said, *Compel them to enter in*. St. Paul said, *I would they were cut off that trouble you*. St. Austin was converted against all Severities in such Cases, but changed his Mind, when he saw the good effects that some Banishments and Fines brought on the *Donatists*: That on which they insisted most, was, the Burning of *Anabaptists* in King *Edward's* Time. So they were fortified in their cruel Intentions, and resolved to spare none, of what Age, Sex, Condition soever they might be.

Bonner kept one *Tomkins*, a Weaver, six Months in his House, who was found in doubt of the Presence in the Sacrament; used divers Violences to him, as the tearing out the Hair of his Beard, and the holding a Candle to his Hand, till the Veins and

ews burst ; and these not prevailing to make Book III.
 him change, he was at last burnt in Smith-
 field. One *Hunter*, an Apprentice, not a- 1555.

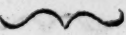
bove XIX Yeas old, was condemned and
 burnt on the same Account. *Bonner* was so
 much concerned to preserve him, that he
 offered him *Forty Pound* to change: So mer-
 cenary did he think other Mens Consciences
 were, measuring them probably by his own.
 Two Gentlemen, *Causton* and *Higbed*, one
Lawrence a Priest, and two meaner Persons,
 were burnt near their own Houses in *Essex*.
 The Method in these, and in all the other
 proceedings, during the rest of this Reign,
 was summary, and *ex officio*: Upon Com-
 plaints made, Persons were Imprisoned, and
 Articles containing the Points for which they
 were suspected, were offered to them, which
 they were required to answer ; and if their
 answers were Heretical, they were burnt for
 them, without any Thing being objected to
 them, or proved against them. *Ferrar*, who
 had been Bishop of *St. David's*, was dealt with
 in the same manner, by his Successor *Morgan*.
 When he was condemned, he appealed to
 Cardinal *Pool*, but that had no other Effect,
 but that his Execution was stopp'd three
 weeks. *Rawlins White*, a poor Fisherman,
 was condemned by the Bishop of *Landaffe*,
 and afterwards burnt: *Marsh*, a Priest, was
 burnt at *Chester* ; and to the ordinary Cruelty
 of Burning, they added a new Invention of
 pouring melted Pitch on his Head. One
Waver, a rash and furious Man, wounded a
 Priest at *St. Margarets Westminster*, as he was
 associating ; for which being seized on, and
 found

Book III. found to be an Heretick, he was condemned and burnt. The Fact was disapproved by the Reformed, and he became sincerely Penitent for it, before he died. After this, for some Weeks, there was a stop put to those Severities.

The
Q. re-
stores the
Church-
Lands.

The Queen about this Time sent for her Treasurer, and some of the other Officers of her Revenue, and told them, that she thought herself bound in Conscience to restore all the Lands of the Church that were then in her Hands; she thought they were unlawfully acquired, and that they could not be held by her without a Sin, therefore she declared she would have them disposed of, as Cardinal Pool should think fit. Some imputed this to a Bull set out by the Pope, excommunicating all that kept any Lands belonging to Abbies or Churches: This alarmed many in England, but Gardiner pacified them, and told them that Bull was made only for Germany, and that no Bull did bind in England, till it was received. But this did not satisfy inquisitive People; for a Sin in Germany, was likewise a Sin in England; and if the Pope's Authority came from Christ, it ought to take Place everywhere equally.

Marcellus Pope Julius died in March, and Marcellus was chosen to succeed him; he turned his Thoughts wholly to the Reformation of the IVth Abuses: He suffered none of his Nephews nor Kindred, to come to Court, and resolved effectually to put down Non-residence and Pluralities: But he found it very difficult to bring about the good Designs he had projected, and that the Pope's Power was

that it was more easy for him to do Mischief, Book III.
than Good ; which made him once cry out, 
That he did not see how any could be saved, 1555.

That sat in that Chair. These Things
brought so much on him, that he sickned
within Twelve Days of his Election, and
died Ten Days after that. Upon his Death,
the Queen endeavoured to engage the *French*
to consent to the Promotion of *Cardinal Pool*,
which she did without his Knowledge or Ap-
probation : But at *Rome* they were so appre-
hensive of another *Pope* set on Reformati-
ons, that they made Haste in their Choice, and
set up *Caraffa*, called *Paul* the Fourth, who
was the most extravagantly ambitious and in-
solent *Pope*, that had Reigned of a great
while.

On the Day of his Election, the *English* The Eng-
Ambassadors entred *Rome* in great State hav-lish Am-
ing in their Train 140 Horse of their own bassadors
attendants ; but the *Pope* would not admit come to
them to an Audience, till they had accepted *Rome*.
of a Grant of the Title of the Kingdom of
Ireland ; for he pretended it belonged only to
him to confer those Titles. The Ambassa-
dors, it seems, knew it was the Queen's
Mind, that they should in every Thing sub-
mit to the *Pope*, and so took that Grant from
him. Their Publick Audience was given in
great Solemnity, in which the *Pope* declared,
that in Token of his pardoning the Nation,
He had added to the Crown the Title of
the Kingdom of *Ireland*, by that Supream
Power which God had given him to de-
stroy, or to build Kingdoms at his Plea-
sure. But in private Discourse he com-
' plain-

Book III. plained much, that the *Abbey-Lands* were
 1555. not restored. He said it was beyond his
 Power to confirm Sacrilege; and all were
 obliged, under the Pains of Damnation, to
 restore to the last Farthing, every Thing
 that belonged to the Church: He said like-
 wise, that he would send over a Collector
 to gather the *Peter-Pence*; for they could
 not expect that St. Peter would open
 Heaven to them, so long as they denied
 him his Rights upon Earth. These were
 heavy Tidings to the Lord Mountacute, (Sir
Anthony Brown) whose Estate consisted chiefly
 of *Abbey-Lands*; that was one of the Amba-
 sadors. But the Pope would endure no Con-
 tradictions, and repeated this every Time that
 came to him.

The Eng- In *England*, Orders were sent to the Ju-
 lish grow stices to look narrowly to the Preachers
 backward of Heresy, and to have secret Spies in every
 in the Parish, for giving them Information of a
 Persecu- Peoples Behaviour. This was imputed to the
 tion. Sowreness of *Spanish* Councils, and seemed
 to be taken from that base Practice of the
Roman Emperors, that had their Informers
 (or *Delatores*) that went into all Com-
 nies, and accommodated themselves to the
 Mens Tempers, till they had drawn them
 into some Discourses against the State, and
 thereby ruined them. People grew so aver-
 to Cruelty, that Bonner himself finding how
 odious he was become, and observing the
 Slackness of the other Bishops, refused to
 meddle any further, and burnt none in
 Weeks Time: Upon which the Queen wrote
 to him, and required him to do the Office

good Pastor, and either to reclaim the Book III.
Hereticks, or to proceed against them accord-
ing to Law: And he quickly shewed how 1555.
ready he was to mend his Pace, upon such an
admonition.

In the Beginning of *May*, the Court was The
Expectation of the Queen's Delivery. The Queen's
envoys were named, that were to carry the Delivery
good News to the neighbouring Courts: The in vain
siddings of it did fly over *England*, and Te look'd
mum was sung upon it in several Cathedrals. for.
but it proved to be a false Conception, and
all Hopes of Issue by her vanished. This
ended much to alienate King *Philip* from her;
and he finding it more necessary to look after
his Hereditary Crowns, than to stay in *Eng-*
land, where he had no Hopes of making him-
self Master, left her, and that increased her
melancholy.

New Fires were kindled. Cardmaker, that More
had been a Prebendary at *Bath*, and *Warne* Hereticks
Tradesman, were burnt in *Smithfield*, burnt.
May. The Body of one that suffered
Robbery, but at his Execution said
newhat favouring of Heresy, was burnt for
Seven were burnt in several Parts of
sex. They were condemned by *Bonner*, and
sent down to be burnt near the Places of
their Abode. The Council writ to the great
men of the Country, to gather many to-
gether, and assist at those Spectacles: And
when they heard that some had come of their
own Accord to the Burnings at *Colchester*,
they writ to the Lord *Rich* to give their
thanks to those Persons for their Zeal; so
generously did they study to cherish a Spirit
of

Book III. of Cruelty among the People. *Bradford*

1555. who had been committed soon after he had saved *Bourne* in the Tumult at Saint *Paul's* had been condemned with the rest, and was preserved till *July*. He was so much considered, that *Heath* Archbishop of *York*, and *Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Weston* and *Harpsfield*, with the King's Confessor, and *Alphonfus à Castro* went to see, if they could prevail on him, and had long Conference with him in Prison, but all to no Purpose. *Bourne* was made Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and his Brother was Secretary of State; but though *Bradford* had preserved his Life, yet he neither came to visit him, nor did he interpose for his Life; on the Contrary, he was objected to *Bradford*, that by his Courage in suppressing that Tumult, it appeared that he had set it on: But he appealed to God, who saw how unworthily they returned him Evil for Good: And he appealed to *Bourne*, who was sitting among the Bishops that judged him, if he had not prayed for the Passion of Christ to endeavour his Preservation; and if he had not done so at the Hazard of his own Life: But *Bourne* as he was ashamed to accuse him, so he had not the Honesty, nor the Courage to vindicate him: A young Apprentice was burnt with him, whom he encouraged much in his Sorrows, and in Transports of Joy, he hugged the Faggots that were laid about him. *Weston*, *Harpsfield*, and others, set on a Persecution at *Canterbury*, though Cardinal *Beaufort* was averse to it, but he durst not now disclose so much; for the Pope had an inveterate Hatred

1555.

entred to him, and was resolved upon the
 st Occasion to recal him; and for that end,
 entred into a Correspondence with *Gardi-*
 er, who hoped thereby to have been made a
 cardinal, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*:
 and upon the Hopes he had of that, he still
 reserved *Cranmer*; for tho' he was now con-
 demned for Heresy, yet the See was not e-
 deemed void, till he was formally degraded.
 Some said it was fit to begin with him, that
 had been the chief Promoter of Heresy in
 England. But *Gardiner* said, it was better
 to try if it could be possible to shake him,
 as it would be a great Blow to the whole
 Party, if he could be wrought on to forsake
 it; whereas if he should be burnt, and should
 die with such Resolution as others expressed,
 it would much raise the Spirits of his Follow-
 ers. The See of *Canterbury* was now only
 in *Pool's* Hands, and he being
 afraid of falling under the Pope's Rage, was
 willing to let the cruel Prebendaries do what
 they pleased. They burnt two Priests, and
 two Laymen at *Canterbury*, and sent a Man
 and a Woman to be burnt in other Places in
 the County. Two that belonged to the Dioceses
 of *Winchester* and *Chichester* were condemned
 by *Bonner* and were burnt near the Places of
 their Abode. There were at this Time seve-
 ral pretended Discoveries of Plots both in
Wiltshire and *Essex*: And Orders were gi-
 ven to draw Confessions from some that were
 apprehended, by Torture; but the Thing
 would not fall, for it was grounded only on the
 Testimonies of the Clergy.

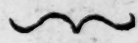
The

Book III. The Queen was this Year rebuilding the

House of the *Franciscans* at *Greenwich*, and
 1555. had recalled *Peyto* and *Elston*, of which
 Religious mention was made, Book I. the one
 Houses made her Confessor, and the other was
 set up. be Guardian of that House: The People
 expressed such Hatred of them, that as they
 were passing upon the River, some threw
 Stones at them: But they that did it, could
 not be discovered. Judge *Rastal* published
Sir Thomas More's Works at this Time
 but as was formerly observed, he left out the
 Letter concerning the Nun of *Kent*; though
 it lies among his other Letters, in that very
 Manuscript out of which he published them.
 He prefixed nothing concerning *More's* Letters
 to his Works, which makes it highly prob-
 able, that he never writ it: For this was not
 the proper Time and Place for publishing
 if he had ever writ it. So that *Manuscript*
 Life of *More's*, pretended to be writ by him,
 out of which many Things have been quoted
 since that Time, to the Disgrace of *Kent*
Henry, and *Anne Boleyn*, must be a late
 Forgery contrived in spite to *Queen Elizabeth*.

More's
Works
 publish-
 ed.

‘ The Queen did now go on with
 ‘ Intentions, of founding Religious Houses
 ‘ out of those *Abbey-Lands* that were
 ‘ in the Crown. She recommended it
 ‘ to the Council's Care, that every where
 ‘ there might be good Preaching, and
 ‘ there might be a Visitation of the Uni-
 ‘ versities: She desired that Justice might
 ‘ be done on the Hereticks, in such a Man-
 ‘ ner, that the People might be well satis-
 ‘ fied about it, and press'd them to take

that there might be no Pluralities in *Eng-Book III.*
land, and that the Preachers might give 
good Example, as well as make good 1555.
Sermons.

The Burnings went on : Seven were burnt
in *August* in several Places ; Six more were
burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury*, and Four
were burnt in other Places, but the particular
Days are not marked. In *September* Five
were burnt at *Canterbury*, and Seven in other
Places. In *October* Two were burnt at *Ely*,
by *Shaxton's* Means, who now compleated his
postacy by his Cruelty. The 16th of that
Month became remarkable by the Sufferings
of *Ridley and Latimer*. Three Bishops, *Lin-*
coln, Gloucester and Bristol, were sent with a
commission from Cardinal *Pool*, to proceed
against them. *Ridley* said he paid great Re-
spect to *Pool*, as he was of the Royal Family,
and esteemed him much for his Learning and
virtues ; but as he was the Pope's Legate, he
could express no Reverence to him, nor
could uncover himself before any that acted
Authority from him. The Bishop of *Lincoln*
urged him, ' To return to the Obedience of
the See of *St. Peter*, on whom Christ had
founded his Church, to which the Antient
Fathers had submitted, and which himself
had once acknowledged. He began his An-
swer with a Protestation, that he did not
thereby submit to the Authority of the
Pope or his Legate ; he said Christ had
founded his Church, not on *St. Peter*, but
on the Faith which he had confessed : The
Bishops of *Rome* had been held in great
Esteem, but that was either on the Account

*Ridley and
Latimer
burnt.*

Book III.

1555.

of their Personal Worth, or by reason of the Dignity of the City: He confessed he had once been involved in that Superstition; but *St. Paul* was once a Blasphemer: And he had discovered such Errors in that See, that he would never acknowledge it any more. *Latimer* adhered to what he said. A Night's Respite was granted them, but they continuing stedfast next Day, they were condemned as obstinate Hereticks, and delivered to the Secular Arm, and the Writers were sent down for their Burning. They prepared themselves for it with such Patience and Chearfulness, as very much amazed their Keepers: As they were led out, they looked up to *Cranmer's* Window, but he was not in it, for he was then held in Dispute by some Friars; yet he look'd after them with a very tender Sense of their Condition, and prayed earnestly to God to assist them in their Sufferings. When they came to the Stake, they embraced and encouraged one another. *Smith* preached on those Words, *If I give my Body to be burnt, and have not Charity, it profits nothing*: And he compared their dying to Heresy, to *Judas's* that hanged himself. *Ryley* desired Leave to answer some Points in his Sermon; but it was told him, that it was not to be suffered to speak, except he intended to recant: So he turned himself to God, when he saw Men were resolved to be so unreasonable to him. He sent a Desire to the Queen, in behalf of the Tenants of the Bishoprick of *London*, from whom he had taken Fines, for which he had renewed the Leases; and prayed that either their Leases

might be confirmed, or that their Fines might be restored out of his Goods, which had been seized on when he was first put in Prison: After both had prayed, and undressed themselves, the Fire was kindled. Some Gunpowder was hanged about their Necks, and that being fired, put *Latimer* quickly out of his Pain; but *Ridley* had a more lingering Torment; for they threw on so much Wood, that it was long before the Flame broke through it, and his Legs were almost wholly consumed before the Flame choaked him.

Book III.

1555.

Thus did these two Bishops end their Days and their Ministry: The one was esteemed to be the ablest of all that advanced the Reformation, both for Piety, Learning, and Solidity of Judgment; the other was looked on as a truly Primitive Bishop, that seemed to have more of the Simplicity of the first Ages, than the Politeness, or the Learning of later Times. *Ridley* was ill-rewarded both by *Bonner* and *Heath*; he had used *Bonner's* Mother and Friends with great Kindness, while he was Bishop of *London*; and had kept the latter a Year and a half in his House, when he fell in Trouble; but he made him ill returns; and when he went through *Oxford*, he did not so much as Visit him: And so far had Men been taught to put off all Humanity, that during their Imprisonment in *Oxford*, none of the University either came to visit them, or took care to relieve their Necessities.

It was observed that *Gardiner* was very impatient to have those Bishops burnt, and Death. He layed his Dinner that Day till the News

Book III. should be brought him that the Fire was kindled: But at Dinner he was taken with an Illness, which turned to a Suppression of Urine, of which he died the Twelfth of November. He went twice to the Parliament which was opened the Twenty First of October, but could go Abroad no more; he expressed great Sorrow for his former Sins, and often said, *He had erred with St. Peter, but had not repented with him.* He was believed to be of Noble Extraction, tho' basely born; for his true Father was supposed to be *Richard Woodvill*, that was Brother to Edward the Fourth's Queen, Grandmother to King *Henry* the Eighth: And this was believed to be the Occasion of his sudden Pre-ferment to the See of *Winchester*. So those that reflected on him for his Opposition to the married State, said, that no wonder if Persons base'y born, as both *He* and *Bonner* were, had no Regard to that State of Life. He was learned in the Civil and Canon Law; he had a good *Latin* Stile, and had some Knowledge in the *Greek* Tongue, but was a very indifferent Divine: He had a Quickness of Apprehension, with a great Knowledge of Mankind, and the Intrigues of Courts: He had all the Arts of Insinuation and Flattery, and was inferior to none in profound Diffimulation. He died now, when he had the Prospect of a Cardinal's Hat, and of all the Honours which a Pope, that found him after his own Heart, could do him. *Heath* was made Chancellor during *Pleasant* and the Queen gave to the See of *York*, the Duke of *Suffolk's* House, fallen to her

his Attainder, in Recompence for *White-Book III.*
Hall, and it was afterwards called *York-*
House. 1555.

The Parliament was now assembled, and TheParli-
it appeared that the Nation was much turned ^{ament ill}
in their Affections. It was proposed to give ^{pleased}
the Queen a Subsidy, and Two Fifteenth. ^{with the}
This was the first Aid that the Queen had ^{Queen's}
asked, though she was now in the third Year ^{Conduct.}
of her Reign; and what was now desired, was
no more than what she might have exacted
at her first coming to the Crown; and since
she had forgiven so much at her Coronation,
it seemed unreasonable to deny it now: Yet
great Opposition was made to it. Many said,
the Queen was impoverishing the Crown, and
giving away the *Abbey-Lands*, and therefore
she ought to be supplied by the Clergy, and
not turn to the Laity: But it was answered,
that the Convocation had given her six Shil-
lings in the Pound, but that would not serve
her present Occasions; so the Debate grew
high: But to prevent further Heats, the
Queen sent a Message, declaring that she
would accept the Subsidy without the Fif-
teenths, and upon that it was granted. The
Queen sent for the Speaker of the House of
Commons, and told him, she could not with
a good Conscience exact the Tenth and First-
fruits of the Clergy, since they were given to
her Father to support his unlawful Dignity,
of being the *Supream Head of the Church*:
She also thought, that all Tythes and Impro-
priations were the Patrimony of the Church,
and therefore was resolved to resign such of
them as were in her Hands. The former

Book III. Part pass'd easily in the House, but great Opposition was made to the latter Part of her Motion: For it was look'd on as a Step to the taking all the Impropriations out of the Hands of the Laity; yet upon a Division of the House, it went so near, that 126 were against it, and 193 were for it, so it was carried by 67 Voices. A Bill was put in against the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, and several others that favoured the Reformation, and had gone beyond Sea, that they might freely enjoy their Consciences; requiring them to return, under severe Penalties: The Lords pass'd it, but the Commons threw it out; for they began now to repent of the severe Laws they had already consented to, and resolved to add no more. They also rejected another Bill, for incapacitating some to be Justices of Peace, who were complained of for their Remissness in prosecuting Hereticks. An Act was put in for debarring one *Bennet Smith*, who had hired some Assassines to commit a most detestable Murder, from the Benefit of the Clergy; which by the Course of the Common Law, would have saved him. This was an Invention of the Priests, that if any, who was capable of entering into Orders, and had not been twice married, or had not married a Widow, could Read, and vowed to take Orders, he was to be saved in many Criminal Cases. And it was looked on as a Part of the Ecclesiastical Immunity; which made divers of the Bishops oppose this Act; yet it pass'd, though four of them, and five Temporal Lords protested against it. There was such Heat in the House of Commons in this

Parliament, that one Sir *Anthony Kingston*, Book III. who was a great Stickler, called one Day for the Keys of the House: But when the Parliament was dissolved, he was sent to the Tower for it: He was soon after set at Liberty, but next Year he and six others were accused of a Design of Robbing the *Exchequer*: He died before he was brought up to London; the other six were hanged; but the Evidence against them does not appear on Record. 1555.

Cardinal *Pool* called a Convocation, having *Pool's* De- first procured a License from the Queen, em- crees for powering them both to meet, and to make the Re- such Canons as they should think fit. This formation was done to preserve the Prerogatives of the of the Crown, and to secure the Clergy, that they Clergy might not be afterwards brought under a *Premunire*. In it several Decrees were proposed by *Pool*, and assented to by the Clergy: 1. For observing the Feast of the Reconciliation made with *Rome*, with great Solemnity: They also condemned all Heretical Books, and received that Exposition of the Faith, which Pope *Eugenius* sent from the Council of *Florence* to the *Armenians*. 2. For the decent Administration of the Sacraments, and putting down the yearly Feasts in the Dedications of Churches. 3. They required all Bishops and Priests to lay aside Secular Cares, and to give themselves wholly to the Pastoral Charge: And all Pluralists were required to resign all their Benefices except one, within two Months, otherwise to forfeit all. 4. Bishops were required to preach often, and to provide good Preachers for their Dioceses, to go over them

Book III. them as their Visitors. 5. All the Pomp and
 ~~~~~ Luxury of the Tables, Servants, and Families  
 1555. of the Bishops was condemned; and they  
 were required chiefly to lay out their Revenues  
 on Works of Charity. 6. They were required  
 not to give Orders, but after a long and  
 strict Trial; which they ought to make them-  
 selves, and not to turn it over to others. 7.  
 They were charged not to bestow Benefices  
 upon partial Regards, but to confer them on  
 the most Deserving, and to take them bound  
 by Oath, to reside upon them. 8. Against  
 giving Advowsons before Benefices fell vacant.  
 9. Against Simony. 10. Against Dilapidations.  
 11. For Seminaries in every Cathedral for the Diocese; and the Clergy were  
 taxed in a fourth Part of their Benefices for  
 their Maintenance. The Twelfth was about  
 Visitations.

It was designed also to set out four Books  
 of Homilies: The first for Points of Contro-  
 versy; the second was for the Exposition of  
 the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Com-  
 mandments, the *Ave*, and the Sacraments;  
 the third was to be a Paraphrase on all the  
 Lessons on Holy-days; and the fourth was to  
 be concerning the several Virtues and Vices,  
 and the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church.  
 In these, the wise and good Temper of Car-  
 dinal *Pool* may be well discerned. He thought  
 the People were more wrought on by the Scar-  
 dals they saw in the Clergy, than by the Ar-  
 guments which they heard from the Reform-  
 ers; and therefore he reckoned if Plurali-  
 ties and Non-Residences, and the other Ab-  
 uses of Church-Men could have been re-

moved

moved, and if he could have brought the Bi-  
 shops to have lived better, and laboured more,  
 to be stricter in giving Orders, and more im-  
 partial in conferring Benefices, and if he could  
 have established Seminaries in Cathedrals,  
 Heresy might have been driven out of the Na-  
 tion by gentler Methods than by Racks and  
 Fires. In one Thing he shewed the Mean-  
 ness of his Spirit, that though he himself con-  
 demned cruel Proceedings against Hereticks,  
 yet he both gave Commissions to other Bi-  
 shops and Archdeacons to try them, and suf-  
 fered a great deal of Cruelty to be exercised in  
 his own Diocese; but he had not Courage  
 enough to resist Pope *Paul* the Fourth, who  
 thought of no other Way for bearing down  
 Heresy, but by setting up Courts of Inquisi-  
 tion every where. He had clapt up Cardinal  
*Morone*, that was *Pool's* great Friend, in Pri-  
 son, upon Suspicion of Heresy; and would  
 very probably have used himself so, if he had  
 got him at *Rome*.

The *Jesuits* were at this Time beginning to He refu-  
 grow considerable: They were tied, besides ses to  
 their other Vows, to an absolute Obedience bring the  
 to the See of *Rome*: And set themselves every *Jesuits* to  
 where to open Free-Schools, for the Education *England*.  
 of Youth, and to bear down Heresy. They  
 were excused from the Hours of the Choir,  
 and so were looked on as a mungrel Order be-  
 tween the Regulars and the Seculars. They pro-  
 posed to Cardinal *Pool*, that since the Queen  
 was restoring the *Abbey-Lands*, it would be  
 to little Purpose to give them again to the *Be-*  
*dictine* Order, which was now rather a Clog  
 than a Help to the Church: And therefore

M 5

they

Book III. they desired that Houses might be assigned to them for the maintaining Schools and Seminaries; and they did not doubt but they should quickly both drive out Heresy, and recover the Church-Lands. *Pool* did not listen to this, for which he was much censured by the Fathers of that Society. It is not certain whether he had then the Sagacity to foresee that Disorder which they were like to bring into the Government of the Church, and that Corruption of Morals that hath since flowed from their Schools, and has been infused by them generally in Confessions, so that their whole Church is now over-run with it.

More of Three were burnt at one Stake in *Canterbury* the Re- in November; and *Philpot* was burnt in *Smith-* formed field in December: He had been put in Prison are burnt. soon after that Convocation was dissolved, in which he had disputed in the Beginning of this Reign: And was now brought out to the Stake. In all, Sixty Seven were burnt this Year, of whom four were Bishops, and thirteen were Priests.

Affairs in In *Germany*, a Diet was held, in which it Germany. was left free to all the Temporal Princes, to set up what Religion they pleased; but a Restraint was put on the Ecclesiastical Princes. Both *Ferdinand*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, appointed the Chalice to be given to the Laity in their Dominions; at which the Pope stormed highly, and threatned to depose them: For that was his common Stile, when he was displeased with any Prince. The Resignation of *Charles* the Fifth, which was begun this Year, and compleated the next, drew the Eyes of all *Europe* upon it. He had enjoyed his Here.

Hereditary Dominions Forty Years, and the Empire Thirty Six. He had endured great Fatigues, by the many Journeys he had made; Nine into *Germany*, Six into *Spain*, Seven into *Italy*, Four through *France*: He was Ten Times in the *Netherlands*, made Two Expeditions to *Africk*, and twice in *England*; and had crossed the Sea Eleven Times. He had unusual Success in his Wars, he had taken a Pope, a King of *France*, and some *German* Princes, Prisoners: And had a vast Accession of Wealth and Empire from the *West-Indies*: But now as Success followed him no more, so he was much afflicted with the Gout, and grew to be much out of Love with the Pomp and Vanities of this World, and so seriously to prepare for another Life. He resigned all his Dominions with a Greatness of Mind, that was much superior to all his other Conquests. He retired to a private Lodge of Seven Rooms, that he had ordered to be built for him in the Confines of *Portugal*: He kept only Twelve Servants to wait upon him, and reserved for his Expence One Hundred Thousand Crowns Pension. In this Retreat he lived Two Years: His first Year was spent chiefly in Mechanical Inventions, in which he took great Pleasure: From that he turned to the Cultivating his Garden, in which he used to work with those Hands, that now preferred the Grafting and Pruning Tools, to Sceptres and Swords. But after that he addicted himself more to Study and Devotion, and did often discipline himself with a Cord. It was also believed, that in many Points he came to be of the Opinion of the Protestants before he



Book III he died. His Confessor was soon after his Death burnt for Heresy, and *Miranda*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, that conversed much with him at this Time, was clapt into Prison on the same Suspicions. At the End of two Years he died, having given a great Instance of a Mind surfeited with the Glories of this World, that sought for Quiet in a private Cell, which it had long in vain searched after in Palaces and Camps.

1556.

*Cranmer's*  
Suffer-  
ings.

In *March* next Year, came on *Cranmer's* Martyrdom. In *September* last, *Brooks*, Bishop of *Gloucester*, came down with Authority from Cardinal *Pool*, to judge him; with him two Delegates came to assist him in the King and Queen's Name. When he was brought before them, he paid the Respect that was due to those that sat in the King and Queen's Name, 'but would shew none to *Brooks*, since he sat there by an Authority derived from the Pope, which he said he would never acknowledge. He could not serve two Masters, and since he had sworn Allegiance to the Crown, he could never submit to the Pope's Authority: He also shewed, that the Pope's Power had been as unjustly used, as it was ill-grounded: That they had changed the Laws settled by Christ, which he instanced, in denying the Chalice; in the Worship in an unknown Tongue; and in their Pretences to a Power to depose Princes: He remembred *Brooks*, that he had sworn to maintain the King's Supremacy; and when he studied to cast that back on him, as an Invention of his, he told him, that it was acknowledged in his

Pre-

Predecessor *Warham's* Time, and that *Brooks* Book III.  
had then set his Hand to it'. *Brooks*, and

1556.

the two Delegates, *Martin* and *Scory*, objected many Things to him ; as, That he had flattered King *Henry*, that so he might be preferred by him ; and that he had condemned *Lambert* for denying the Presence in the Sacrament, and had been afterwards guilty of the same Heresy himself. But he vindicated himself from all Aspirings to the See of *Canterbury*, which appeared visibly by the Slowness of his Motions, when he was called over out of *Germany*, to be advanced to it : For he was seven Weeks on his Journey. He confessed, he had changed his Opinion in the Matter of the Sacrament, and acknowledged that he had been twice married ; which he thought was free to all Men, and was certainly much better than to defile other Men's Wives. After much Discourse had pass'd on both Sides, *Brooks* required him to appear before the Pope within eighty Days, and answer to the Things that should be objected to him : He said, he would do it most willingly, but he could not possibly go, if he were still kept a Prisoner.

In February this Year, *Bonner* and *Thirleby* were sent to degrade him, for his Contumacy in not going to *Rome*, when he was all the while kept in Prison : He was clothed with all the Pontifical Robes made of *Canterbury*, and then they were taken from him, according to the Ceremony of Degradation, in which *Bonner* carried himself with all the Insolence that might have been expected from him : *Thirleby* was a good-natured Man, and had

14. Feb.

Book III. had been *Cranmer's* particular Friend, and performed his Part in this Ceremony with great Expressions of Sorrow, and shed many Tears at it. In all this, *Cranmer* seemed very little concerned; he said, it was gross Injustice to condemn him for not going to Rome when he was shut up in Prison; but he was not sorry to be thus cut off, even with all the Pageantry, from any Relation to that Church. He denied the Pope had any Authority over him, so he appealed from his Sentence to the free General Council.

He recants.

But now many Engines were set on work to make him recant: Both *English* and *Spanish* Divines had many Conferences with him, and great Hopes were given him, not only of Life, but of Preferment, if he would do so. And these at last had a fatal Effect upon him, for he signed a Recantation of all his former Opinions, and concluded it with a Protestation that he had done it freely, only for the discharge of his Conscience. But the Queen was resolved to make him a Sacrifice to her Resentments; she said it was good for his Soul that he repented, but since he had been the chief Spreader of Heresy over the Nation, it was necessary to make him a public Example: So the Writ was sent down to burn him; and after some Stop had been made in the Execution of it, new Orders came for carrying it suddenly. This was kept from *Cranmer's* Knowledge, for they intended to carry him to the Stake, without giving him Notice, and so hoped to make him die in Despair: Yet he suspecting somewhat, wrote a long Paper, containing a Confession of

Faith, such as his Conscience, and not his Book III. Fears had dictated.

He was on the 21st of March carried to St. Mary's, where Dr. Cole preached, and vindicated the Queen's Justice, in condemning *Cranmer*; but magnified his Conversion much, and ascribed it wholly to the Workings of God's Spirit: He gave him great Hopes of Heaven, and promised him all the Relief that Dirges and Masses could give him in another State. All this while *Cranmer* was observed to be in great Confusion, and Floods of Tears run from his Eyes; at last, when he was called on to speak, he began with a Prayer, in which he expressed inward Remorse and Horror: Then after he had exhorted the People to good Life, Obedience and Charity, he in most pathetick Expressions confessed his sin, that the Hopes of Life had made him sign a Paper contrary to the Truth, and against his Conscience: And he had therefore resolved, that the Hand that signed it should be burnt first; he also declared, that he had the same Belief concerning the Sacrament, which he had published in the Book he wrote out it. Upon this, there was a great Condemnation in the whole Assembly, but they resolved to make an End of him suddenly; without suffering him to go further, they carried him away to the Stake, and gave him the Disturbance they could, by their Reproaches and Clamours: But he made them Answer, having now turned his Thoughts wholly towards God. When the Fire was kindled, he held his Right Hand towards the same, till it was consumed, and often said,

1556.

He repents, and is burnt.



Book III. *That unworthy Hand*; he was soon after quite

1556.

burnt, only his Heart was found entire among the Ashes: From which his Friends made this Inference, that though his Hand had err'd, yet it appeared his Heart had continued true. They did not make a Miracle of it, though they said the Papists would have made a great Matter of it, if such a Thing had fallen out in any that had dyed for their Religion.

His Character.

Thus did *Thomas Cranmer* end his Days in the LXVIIth Year of his Age: He was a Man of great Candor, and a firm Friend, which appeared signally in the Misfortune of *Anne Bulleyn*, *Cromwell*, and the Duke of *Somerset*: He rather excelled in great Industry and good Judgment, than in a Quickness of Apprehension, or a Closeness of Style. He bestowed his Revenues on good and charitable Uses; and in his Table he was truly Hospitable, for he entertained great Numbers of his poor Neighbours often at it. The Gentleness and Humility of his Deportment were very singular: His last Fall was the greatest Blemish of his Life, yet that was expiated by a sincere Repentance, and a patient Martyrdom: And those that compared Antient and Modern Times, did not stick to compare him, not only to the *Chrysostoms*, the *Ambroses*, and the *Austins*, that were the chief Glories of the Church, in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, but to those of the first Ages, that immediately followed the Apostles, and came nearest to the Patterns which they had left the World; to the *Ignatius's*, the *Polycarps*, and the *Cyprians*. And it seem

necessary that the Reformation of the Church, Book III.  
being the restoring of the Primitive and Apo-  
stolical Doctrine, should have been chiefly 1556.

carried on by a Man thus eminent for Primitive and Apostolical Virtues. In *January*, More  
Five Men and Two Women were burnt at Burnings.  
the Stake in *Smithfield*: And one Man and  
four Women were burnt at *Canterbury*. In  
*March*, Two Women were burnt at *Ipswich*,  
and Three Men at *Salisbury*. In *April*, Six  
Men of *Essex* were burnt in *Smithfield*: A  
Man and Woman were burnt at *Rocheſter*,  
and another at *Cambridge*: And Six, who  
were sent from *Colcheſter*, were condemned by  
Bonner, without giving them longer Time to  
conſider whether they would recant, than till  
the Afternoon: For he was now ſo hardened  
in his Cruelty, that he grew weary of keep-  
ing his Priſoners ſome Time, and of taking  
 pains on them, to make them recant; he ſent  
them back to *Colcheſter*, where they were  
ſent: He condemned alſo a blind Man, and  
a mangled Cripple, and they were both burnt in  
the ſame Fire at *Stratford*. In *May* Three  
Women were burnt in *Smithfield*; the Day  
after that, Two were burnt at *Glouceſter*, one  
of them being blind. Three were burnt at  
*Wolves* in *Suffolk*; Five were burnt at *Lewes*,  
and one at *Leiceſter*. But on the 27th of  
*June*, Bonner gave the ſignalleſt Inſtance of  
his Cruelty, that *England* ever ſaw: For E-  
leven Men and Two Women were burnt in  
the ſame Fire at *Stratford*. The Horror of  
this Action, it ſeems, had ſome Operation on  
himſelf; for he burnt none till *April* next  
year. In *June* Three were burnt at St. Ed-  
munds-

Book III. *mundsbury*, and three were afterwards burnt at *Newbury*. This Cruelty was not kept within *England*, but it extended as far as to the adjacent Islands. In *Guernsey*, a Mother and her two Daughters were burnt at the same Stake; one of them was a married Woman, and big with Child: The Violence of the Fire bursting her Belly, the Child that proved to be a Boy, fell out into the Flame: He was snatched out of it, by one that was more merciful than the rest: But the other barbarous Spectators, after a little Consultation, threw it back again into the Fire. This was Murder without Question, for no Sentence against the Mother could excuse this inhuman Piece of Butchery; which was thought the more odious, because the Dean of *Guernsey* was a Complice in it: Yet so merciful was the Government under Queen *Elizabeth*, that he, and nine others, that were accused for it, had their Pardons. Two were after this burnt at *Greenstead*, and a blind Woman at *Dorchester*: Four were burnt at *Bristol*, and as many at *Mayfield* in *Suffex*, and one at *Norwich*; so that in all LXXXV were this Year burnt, without any Regard had, either to Age, or Sex, to Young or Old, or the Land or the Blind; which raised so extreme an Aversion in this Nation to that Religion, that it is no Wonder if the Apprehensions being again brought under so Tyrannical a Yoke, break out into most violent and convulsive Symptoms.

The Reformed  
increase  
upon this

By these Means the Reformation was so from being extinguished, that it spread daily more and more, and the Zeal of those

confessed it grew quicker. They had frequent Meetings, and several Teachers that instructed them: And their Friends that went beyond Sea, and settled in *Strasburg, Francfort, Ambden*, and some other Places in *Germany*, took care to send over many Books for their instruction and Comfort.

An unhappy Difference was begun at *Franc-The Trou*  
*er*, which has had since that Time great and bles at  
 tal Consequences; some of the *English Francfort*.  
 thought it was better to use a Liturgy, agreeing  
 with the *Geneva* Forms; whereas the rest  
 thought, that since they were a Part of the  
 Church of *England* that fled thither, they  
 ought to adhere to the *English* Liturgy; and  
 at the rather, since those who had compil-  
 ed it, were now sealing it with their Blood.  
 This raised much Heat, but Doctor Cox that  
 resided in *Strasburg*, being held in great Esteem,  
 went thither, and procured an Order  
 from the Senate, That the *English* should con-  
 tinue to use the Forms of their own Church;  
 but the Fire was not thereby quenched, for  
 some, and some other hot Spirits, began to  
 make Exceptions to some Parts of the Litur-  
 gy; and got *Calvin* to declare on their Side;  
 upon which some of them retired to *Geneva*.  
 Another Contest arose concerning the Cen-  
 suring of Offenders, which some said belong-  
 ed only to the Minister, and others thought  
 that the Congregation ought to be admitted  
 a Share in it. Great Animosities were  
 raised by these Debates, which gave Scandal  
 to the Strangers among whom they lived,  
 and many reflected on the Schisms of the *No-*  
*mans* and *Donatists*, that rent the Churches  
 of



Book III. of *Africk*; the one during the Persecutions

1556.

*Pool* made  
Archbi-  
shop of  
*Canter-*  
*bury.*

and the other immediately after they were over.

In *England*, *Pool* was consecrated Arch-  
bishop of *Canterbury*, the Day after *Crann*  
was burnt; which gave Occasion to many to  
apply the Words of *Elijah* to him, *Thou*  
*killed and taken Possession*: A Week after  
that, he came into *London* in great State, and  
had the Pall put about him, by *Heath*  
*Bow-Church*: And after that he made a com-  
mon Sermon concerning the Beginning, the Use  
and Virtues of the Pall: Without either  
Learning or Eloquence: For it was observed  
that he had so far changed his Style, which  
in his Youth was too luxuriant, that it was  
now become flat, and had neither Life nor  
Beauty in it. The Pall was a Device of the  
Popes, in the 12th Century, in which time  
they began first to send those Cloaks to Arch-  
bishops, as a Badge of their being the Popes  
Legates born.

More

Religious  
Houses.

The Queen had founded a House for  
*Franciscans* of the Observance in *Greenwich*  
Year: This Year she founded Houses  
for the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans* in *London*  
as also a House for the *Carthusians* at *Sheen*  
and a Nunnery at *Sion*: She also converted  
the Church of *Westminster* into an Abbey.  
And that way might be made to the reformation  
of Religious Orders, she took Care to have  
the Reports, Confessions, and other Records  
that tended to the Dishonour of their Houses  
to be raised: So that no Memory might remain  
of them to the next Age. For this End  
she gave a Commission to *Bonner*, and others

arch all Registers, and to take out of them Book III.

every Thing, that was either against the See

Rome, or the Religious Houses: And they

secured this Commission so carefully, that

the Steps of it appear in the Defectiveness of

the Records of that Time: Yet many

things have escaped their Diligence. This

expurgation of theirs was compared to the

rage of the Heathens in the last Persecution,

who destroyed all the Books and Registers

that they could find among the Christians.

The Monks of *Glaffenbury* were in hope to

have got their House, that had been Dedi-

cated to the Honour of *Joseph of Arimathea*,

restored again: They desired only the House,

and a little Land about it; which they re-

solved to cultivate, and did not doubt but

the People of the Country would contribute

towards their Subsistence: And it is probable

that the like Designs were set on Foot for the

other Houses: And it was not to be doubted,

that as soon as they had again infused in

the Nation the Belief of Purgatory, they

would have persuaded those that held their

lands, especially if they could come near

when they were dying, to deliver them-

selves from the Sin and Punishments of Sacri-

fice, by making Restitution. It is true, the

nobility and Gentry were much alarmed at

these Proceedings; and at the last Parliament,

many in the House of Commons laid their

hands on their Swords, and declared that

they would not part with their Estates, but

would defend them. Yet all that intended

to gain Favour at Court, made their way to it,

by founding Chantries for Masses to be said

for

1556.

Book III. for them and their Ancestors; and took out  
 Licenses from the Queen for making those  
 1556. Endowments.

The Pope sets on a War between France and Spain. A Truce was now concluded between France and Spain for five Years: But the violent Pope broke it. He was offended at the House of Austria, and chiefly at Ferdinand's assuming the Title of Emperor, without his Consent; he used to say, That all Kingdoms were subject to him: That he would suffer no Prince to be too familiar with him: And that he would set the World on Fire, rather than be driven to do any thing below his Dignity. He pretended that he had reformed the Abuses of his own Court, and that he would in the next Place reform all the Abuses that were in other Courts, of which he ordered a great Collection to be made: When he was press'd to call a Council, he said, he needed none; for he himself was above all, and the World had already seen twice, how little Purpose it was to send about Six weak Bishops, and Forty Divines, that were not the most learned, to Trent: He resolved it should never meet there any more; but he would call one to sit in the Lateran: He signified this to the Ambassadors of Princes only in Courtesie: For he would ask Advice of none of them, but would be obeyed by them all: And if Princes would send none of their Prelates thither, he would hold a Council without them, and would let the World see, what a Pope, that had Courage could do. This imperious Humour of him made him talk sometimes like a Mad-man.

was intended, as was believed, to raise his Book III.  
Nephew to be King of *Naples*, and in order  
that, he sent one of his Nephews to *France*,  
to absolve the King from the Truce which he  
had sworn : And promised to create what  
Cardinals that King would nominate, if he  
would make War on *Spain* ; though to the  
Queen's Ambassadors, and all others at *Rome*,  
he gave it out, that he would mediate a  
Peace between the Crowns ; for a Truce did  
not sufficiently secure the Quiet of *Europe*.  
The French King was too easily persuaded by  
the Instigation of the Pope, and the House of  
Bourbon, to break his Faith, and begin the  
War. The Pope also began it in *Italy*, and  
the Cardinals of the Spanish Faction in  
Spain, and threatned to proceed to Censures  
against King Philip, for protecting the Colon-  
els, who were his particular Enemies. He  
made some Levies among the *Grisons*, that  
were Hereticks ; but said, he look'd on them  
as Angels of God, and was confident God  
would convert them. The Duke of *Alva* had  
great Reverence for the Papacy, that he took  
measures against the Pope very unwillingly : He  
could have taken *Rome*, but would not : And  
in the Places that he took, he declared he  
would deliver them up to the next Pope. It  
was the great Scandal to the World, to see the  
King set on so perfidious a Breach of Truce ;  
and it was thought strange, that in the same  
Year, a great Prince in the 56th Year of his  
Age, should retire to a Monastery, and that  
a hundred and 80 Years old, should  
set *Europe* in a Flame



Book III.

1557.  
A Visitation on  
on the Universities.

The next Year *Pool* sent *Ormaneto* with some *English* Divines, to visit *Cambridge*. They put the Churches, in which the Bodies of *Bucer* and *Fagius* lay, under an Interdict. They made a Visitation of all the Colleges and Chapels, in which *Ormaneto* shewed great Integrity; and without Respect of Persons, he chid some Heads of Houses, whom he found guilty of misapplying the Revenues of their Houses. The two dead Bodies were burnt with great Solemnity: They were raised and cited to appear, and answer for the Heresies they had taught, and if any would answer for them, they were required to come. The Dead said nothing for themselves; and the Living were afraid to do it, for fear of being sent after them; so Witnesses were examined, and in Conclusion, they were condemned as obstinate Hereticks, and the dead Bodies, with many Heretical Books, were burnt in one Fire. *Pern* was Vice-Chancellor at this Time, and happened to be in the Chancery Office four Years after, when, by Queen *Elizabeth's* Order publick Honours were done to the Memory of these learned Men; and he obeyed both these Orders with so much Zeal that it appeared how exactly he had learned the Lesson, so much studied in that Age, during the Time. After this there was a Visitation of all the Colleges in *Oxford*, and there it was intended to act such Pageants on the Body of *Peter Martyr's* Wife, as had been done at *Cambridge*. But she that could speak no *English*, had not declared her Opinions, so that no Witnesses could be found to convict her of Heresy: Yet since it was

riously known, that she had been a Nun, and Book III.  
had broken her Vow of Chastity, they raised her Body, and buried it in a Dung-  
hil: But her Bones were afterwards mixed 1557.  
with St. *Frideswide's*, by Queen *Elizabeth's*  
Orders.

The Justices of Peace were now every where  
so slack in the Prosecution of Hereticks, that A severe  
it seemed necessary to find out other Tools. Inquisiti-  
So the Courts of Inquisition were thought on. on of He-  
These were set up first in *France* against the reticks.  
*Albigenses*, and afterwards in *Spain*, for dis-  
covering the *Moors*, and were now turned  
upon the Hereticks. Their Power was uncon-  
troulable, they seized on any they pleased,  
upon such Informations or Presumptions as  
lay before them. They managed their Pro-  
cesses in secret, and put their Prisoners to  
such sorts of Torture as they thought fit for  
extorting Confessions or Discoveries from  
them. At this Time both the Pope and King  
*Philip*, though they differed in other Things,  
agreed in this, that these were the only sure  
Means for extirpating Heresy. ' So, as a  
' Step to the setting them up, a Commission  
' was given to *Bonner*, and twenty more,  
' the greatest Part Laymen, to search all  
' over *England* for all suspected of Heresy,  
' that did not hear Mass, go in Processions,  
' or did not take Holy-bread, or Holy-water;  
' they were authorized, three being a *Quo-*  
' *rum*, to proceed either by Presentments,  
' or other Politick Ways; they were to de-  
' liver all that they discovered to theirordi-  
' naries; and were to use all such Means as  
' they could invent; which was left to their  
V O L. II. N ' Dis-

Book III. Discretions and Consciences, for executing  
 1557. their Commission. Many other Commissions subaltern to theirs, were issued out for several Counties and Dioceses. This was looked on as such an Advance towards an Inquisition, that all concluded it would follow ere long. The Burnings were carried on vigorously in some Places, and but coldly in most Parts, for the Dislike of them grew to be almost universal.

More In January, six were burnt in one Fire at  
 Burnings. Canterbury, and four in other Parts of Kent: Twenty two were sent out of Colchester to Bomer; but it seems Pool had chid him severely for the Fire he had made of thirteen the last Year; for he writ to Pool for Directions. The Cardinal employed some to deal with the Prisoners, and they got them to sign a Paper in general Words, acknowledging 'that  
 ' Christ's Body was in the Sacrament; and  
 ' declaring that they would be subject to the  
 ' Church of Christ, and to their lawful Superiors. And upon this they were set at Liberty. By which it appeared that Pool was willing to have accepted any thing, by which he might on the one Hand preserve the Lives of those that were informed against, and yet not be exposed to the Rage of the Pope, as a Favourer of Hereticks. In April, three Men and one Woman were burnt in Smithfield: In May, three were burnt in Southwark, condemned by White the new Bishop of Winchester, and three at Bristol. Five Men and Nine Women were burnt in Kent, in June: And in the same Month, six Men and four Women were burnt at Lewes. In

July, two were burnt at *Norwich*; and in Book III. *August*, ten were burnt in one Day at *Colchester*. They were some of those twenty two that were by *Pool's* Means discharged: But the cruel Priests informed against them, and said, the Favour shewed to them, had so encouraged all others, that it was necessary to remove the Scandal, which that Mercy of the Cardinal's gave, and to make Examples of some of them. In *August*, one was burnt at *Norwich*, two at *Rochester*, and one at *Litchfield*. One *Eagle*, that went much about from Place to Place, from which he was called *Trudge-over*, was condemned as a Traytor, for some Words spoken against the Queen. But all this Cruelty did not satisfy the Clergy, they complained that the Magistrates were backward, and did their Duty very negligently: Upon which severe Letters were written to several Towns, from the Council-Board: And zealous Men were recommended to be chosen Mayors in sundry Towns. In *September* three Men and one Woman were burnt at *Islington*, and two at *Colchester*; one at *Northampton*, and one at *Laxefield*: A Woman was burnt at *Norwich*: A Priest with thirteen other Men and three Women, were burnt at *Chichester*. In *November*, three were burnt in *Smithfield*. *Rough*, a *Scotchman* that had a Benefice in *King Edward's* Time, kept a private Meeting at *Islington*: But one of the Company being corrupted, discovered the rest, so they were apprehended as they were going to the Communion, and he and a Woman were burnt in *December*; so 79 were burnt in all this Year.



Book III.

1557.  
The Lord  
*Stourton*  
hanged.

This Year a horrid Murder of one *Argol*, and his Son, was committed by the Lord *Stourton*, and some of his Servants: Who after they had butchered them in a most barbarous Manner, buried them fifteen Foot deep in the Ground. The Lord *Stourton* was a zealous Papist, and had protested against all the Acts that had pass'd in King *Edward's* Time; yet the Queen not only would not pardon him, but would not so much as change the infamous Death of Hanging into a Beheading; not because the Prerogative extends not so far, as some have without Reason asserted; for both the Duke of *Somerset*, condemned in the Reign of King *Edward*, and the Lord *Audley* condemned under King *Charles* the first, for Felony, were beheaded: But the Queen resolved in this Case to shew no Favour. All the Distinction was, that the Lord *Stourton* was hanged in a silken Rope. This was much extolled as an Instance of the Queen's impartial Justice; and it was said, that since she left her Friends to the Law, her Enemies had no Cause to complain, if it was executed on them.

The  
Queen  
joins in  
the War  
against  
*France*.

The War breaking out between *Spain* and *France*, King *Philip* had a great Mind to engage *England* in it. The Queen complained often of the kind Reception that was given to the Fugitives that fled out of *England* to *France*, and it was believed, that the *French* secretly supplied and encouraged them to embroil her Affairs. One *Stafford* had this Year gathered many of them together, and landing in *Yorkshire*, he surprized the Castle of *Scarborough*, and published a Manifesto against the

the Queen, that by bringing in Strangers to govern the Nation, she had forfeited her Right to the Crown: But few came in to him; so he and his Complices were forced to render, and four of them were hanged. The *English* Ambassador in *France*, Dr. *Wotton*, discovered that the Constable had a Design to take *Calais*; for he sent his own Nephew, whom he had brought over and instructed secretly to him: He pretended he was sent from a great Party in that Town, who were resolved to deliver it up; at which the Constable seemed not a little glad, and entred into a long Discourse with him of the Methods of taking it; yet all this made no great Impression on the Queen; all her Council, chiefly the Clergy, were against engaging, for they saw that would oblige them to slacken their Severities at Home; so the King found it necessary to come over himself, and persuade her to it. He prevailed with her: And after a Denunciation of War, she sent over Eight Thousand Men to his Assistance, who joined the *Spanish* Army consisting of Fifty Thousand that were set down before *St. Quintin*.

1557.

The Constable of *France* came with a great Force to raise the Siege, but when the two Armies were in View of one another, the *French*, by a Mistake in the Word of Command, fell in Disorder; upon which, the *Spaniards* charged them with such Success, that the whole Army was defeated: Many were killed on the Place, and many were taken Prisoners, among whom, was the Constable himself: And the *Spaniards* lost only Fifty Men.

The Bat-  
tel of *St.*  
*Quintin*.

Book III. Men. Had *Philip* followed this Blow, and  
 ~~~~~ marched straight to *Paris*, he had found all  
 1557. *France* in a great Consternation; but he sat
 still before *St. Quintin*, which held out till
 the Terror of this Defeat was much over.
 The Constable lost his Reputation in it, and
 all looked on it as a Curse upon that King for
 the Breach of his Faith.

The Pope
 recalls
Pool.

The *French* Troops were called out of *Italy*, upon which, the Pope, being now exposed to the *Spaniards*, fell in strange Fits of Rage: particularly, he inveighed much against *Pool*, for suffering the Queen to join with the Enemies of the Apostolick See: And having made a General Decree, recalling all his Legates and Nuncio's in the *Spanish* Dominions, he recalled *Pool's* Legatine Power among the rest: And neither the Intercessions of the Queen's Ambassadors, nor the other Cardinals, could prevail with him to alter it: Only as an extraordinary Grace, he consented not to intimate it to him. But after this he went further: He made Fryar *Peyto* a Cardinal: He liked him for his railing against King *Henry* to his Face, and thought that since the Queen had made him her Confessor, he would be very acceptable to her. He recalled *Pool's* Powers, and required him to come to *Rome*, and answer to some Complaints made of him, for the Favour he had shewed to Hereticks: He also declared *Peyto* his Legate for *England*, and writ to the Queen to receive him: But the Queen ordered the Bulls and Briefs that were sent over, to be laid up without opening them, which had been the Method formerly practised, when unacceptable Bulls were sent over:

over: She sent Word to *Peyto*, not to come into *England*, otherwise she would sue him, and all that owned him, in a *Præmunire*. He died soon after. Cardinal *Pool* laid aside the Ensigns of a Legate, and sent over *Ormaneto* with so submissive a Message, that the Pope was much mollified by it, and a Treaty of Peace being set on Foot, this Storm went over. The Duke of *Alva* marched near *Rome*, which was in no Condition to resist him: So the Pope in great Fury called the Cardinals together, and told them, he was resolved to suffer Martyrdom without being daunted; which they who knew that he had drawn all this on himself, by his Ambition and Rage, could scarce hear without Laughter. Yet the Duke of *Alva* was willing to treat. The haughty Pope, though he was forced to yield in the chief Points, yet in the Punctilio's of Ceremonies, he stood so high upon his Honour, which he said, was Christ's Honour, that he declared he would see the whole World ruined, rather than yield in a Tittle: In that the Duke of *Alva* was willing enough to comply with him, so he came to *Rome*, and in his Master's Name, asked Pardon for Invading the Patrimony of *St. Peter*; and the Pope gave him Absolution in as insolent a Manner, as if he had been the Conqueror. The News of this Reconciliation was received in *England* with all the publickest Expressions of Joy. In *Scotland*, the Queen-Regent studied to engage that Nation in the War: All that favoured the Reformation were for it; but the Clergy opposed it. The Queen thought to draw them into it, whether they would or

1557.

Book III. not, and sent in *D'oisel* to besiege a Castle in
 1557. *England*. But the *Scotch* Lords complained
 much of that, and required him to give over
 his Attempt, otherwise they would declare
 him an Enemy to the Nation. So after some
 slight Skirmishes on the Borders, the Matter
 was put up on both Sides. This made the
 Queen-Regent write to *France*, pressing them
 to conclude the Marriage between the *Dau-*
phin and the Queen: Upon which a Message
 was sent from that Court, desiring the *Scots*
 to send over Commissioners to treat about
 the Articles of the Marriage, and some of
 every State were dispatched for settling that
 Matter. There was this Year great Want of
 Money in the *Exchequer* of *England*; and
 the Backwardness of the last Parliament,
 made the Council unwilling to call a new one.
 It was tried what Sums could be raised by
 Loan, upon Privy Seals: But so little came in
 that Way, that at last one was summoned to
 meet in *January*; yet in the mean while
 Advertisements were given them, of the ill
 Condition in which the Garisons of *Calais*
 and the neighbouring Places were, and that
 the *French* had a Design on them; but either
 they thought there was no Danger during the
 Winter, or they wanted Money so much, that
 no Care was taken to secure them.

Affairs in
Germany.

In *Germany*, the Papists did this Year blow
 up the Differences between the *Lutherans*
 and the *Zuinglians*, with so much Artifice,
 that a Conference which was appointed for
 settling Matters of Religion, was broken up,
 without any good Effect: Only it discovered
 a common Practice of the Popish Party, in
 cri-

engaging those that divided from them, into Book III.
Heats and Animosities one against another, by which their Strength was not only much weakened, but their Zeal, instead of turning against the common Enemy, turned upon one another. But yet the many Experiments that have been made of this, have not been able to infuse that Moderation and Prudence in many of the Reformed Churches, which might have been expected. In *France*, the Numbers of the Reformed increased so much, that 200 assembled in *St. Germans*, one of the Suburbs of *Paris*, to receive the Communion. This was observed by the People of the Neighbourhood, and a Tumult was raised; the Men for the most Part escaped, but 160 Women, and some few Men were taken: Of these six Men and one Woman were burnt: And most horrid Things were published of that Meeting; and among other Calumnies, it was said, they sacrificed and eat a Child. All these were confuted in an Apology, printed for their Vindication: The *German* Princes and the *Cantons* interposed so effectually, and their Alliance was then so necessary to the Crown of *France*, that a Stop was put to further Severities. The Pope complained much of that, and of some Edicts that the King had set out, annulling Marriages without Consent of Parents, and requiring Churchmen to reside at their Benefices, as Invasions on the Spiritual Authority.

The Beginning of the next Year was famous by the Loss of *Calais*. The Duke of *Guise* sat down before it, on the 1st of *Janu- Calais and other Places taken by the French.*
ary. The Garrison consisted but of 500 Men, so by the
that *French.*

Book III. that two Forts about it, of which the one commanded the Avenue to it by Land, and the other commanded the Harbour, were easily taken: For the Lord *Wentworth*, that was Governor, could not spare Men enough to defend them. The *French* drew the Water out of the Ditches, and made the Assault, and carried the Castle; which was thought impregnable: After that, the Town could do little, so it was surrendered, and the Governor with fifty Officers, were made Prisoners of War. Thus was this important Place, which the *English* had kept 210 Years, lost in a Week, and that in Winter. From this the Duke of *Guise* went to besiege *Guines*, which had a better Garrison of 1100 Men, but they were much disheartned by the Loss of *Calais*; they retired into the Castle, and left the Town to the *French*; but yet they beat them once out of it. The *French*, after a long Battery, gave the Assault, and forced them to capitulate: The Soldiers, as at *Calais*, had leave to go away, but the Officers were made Prisoners of War. The Garrison that was in *Hammes*, seeing themselves cut off from the Sea, and lost, abandoned the Place before the *French* summoned them. The Loss of *Calais* raised great Complaints against the Council; and they, to excuse themselves, cast the Blame on the Lord *Wentworth*; and ordered a Citation to be made of him, when he was a Prisoner with the *French*; his Defence was not fit to be heard, otherwise it had been easy for the Council to have brought him over. He had not above the fourth Part of that Number that was necessary to defend the Place;

Place ; and in Time of War had no more than usually kept there in Times of Peace ; of this, both he, and Sir *Edward Grimston*, that was Comptroller, gave full and timely Advertisements, but had not those Supplies sent them that were necessary. They both came over in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, and offered themselves to Trial, and were acquitted. *Grimston* was unwilling to pay the great Ransom that was set on him : so after two Years Imprisonment, he made his Escape out of the *Bastile*, and came to *England*, and lived till the 98th Year of his Age. He was Great-Grand-Father to Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, the Author's Noble Patron and Benefactor. The *French* after this, took *Sark*, a little Island in the Channel ; but it was ingeniously retaken by a *Fleming*, who pretended that he desired to bury a Friend of his, that had died Aboard his Ship, in that Island : The *French* were very careful to search the Men that came Ashore, that they should have no Arms about them ; but did not think of looking into the Coffin, which was full of Arms, and when they thought the Seamen were burying their dead Friend, they armed themselves, and took all the *French* that were in the Castle. The Ingeniousness, rather than the Importance of this, makes it worth the mentioning.

The Discontent that the Loss of *Calais* Great Dis- gave to the *English*, was such, that the Queen contents could not hope ever to overcome it : And it in *Eng-* sunk so deep in her Mind, that it hastened land. her Death not a little. Both Sides took upon them to draw Arguments from this Loss : The Reformers said, it was a Judgment on the Nation

1558.

Nation for the Contempt of the true Religion, and the Cruelties that had been of late practised; the Papists said, the Hereticks had found such Shelter and Connivance there, that no wonder the Place was lost. *Philip* sent over and offered his Assistance to go and retake the Place, before the Fortifications should be repaired, if the *English* would send over a Force equal to such an Undertaking; but they upon an Estimate made of the Expence that this, and a War for the next Year would put them to, found it would rise to *Five Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds Sterling*; and as the Treasure was exhausted, and could not furnish such a Sum, so they had no reason to expect such liberal Supplies from the People. The Bishops were afraid lest the Continuance of the War should make it necessary to proceed more gently against Hereticks, and thought it better to sit down with the Loss of *Calais*, than hazard that; they seemed confident, that within a Year they should be able to clear the Kingdom of Heresy; and therefore moved that Preparations might be made for a War to begin the Year after this.

The Parliament meets.

The Parliament assembled; for which the Abbot of *Westminster*, and the Prior of *St. John of Jerusalem* had their Writs, and sat in it. The Lords desired a Conference with the Commons concerning the Safety of the Nation; and upon that a Subsidy, a Tenth, and a Fifteenth were given by the Laity, and the Clergy gave eight Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in four Years. The Abbot of *Westminster* moved, that the Privi-

leges

leges of Sanctuary might be again restored to his House; but that was laid aside. The Procurers of wilful Murder were denied the Benefit of the Clergy; but great Opposition was made to it in the House of Lords. A Bill was brought in, confirming the Letters Patents, which the Queen had granted, or might grant. This related to the Foundations of Religious Houses; but one *Coxley* opposed this; and insinuated, that perhaps the Queen intended to dispose of the Crown, in prejudice of the Right Heir: At which the House expressed so great a Dislike, as shewed they would not have it so much as imagined the Lady *Elizabeth* could be excluded. He had a Publick Reprimand given him, for insinuating a Thing so much to the Queen's Dishonour.

Book III.

1558.

A Proposition of Marriage was at this Time privately made by the King of *Sweden*, to Lady *Elizabeth*; but she rejected it, because it was not sent to her by the Queen: Though the Messenger declared that his Master, as he was a Gentleman, began at her; and as he was a King, he had ordered him to propose it next to the Queen. But she assured him, that if the Queen would leave her to her self, she would not change her State of Life. When the Queen knew of this, she approved much of her Sister's Answer, and sent one to her to try her Mind in; for now the Proposition was made to her: But she expressed her Dislike of a married State so firmly, that this Motion fell to the Ground. It seems her Aversion was very great, otherwise the Condition she was then in,

The Carriage and Usage of Lady *Elizabeth* all this Reign.

in, was neither so easy, nor so secure, but that she had Reason to desire to be out of her Keeper's Hands, and to apprehend that her Danger increased, as the Queen's Health was impaired: For many of the Bishops were offering cruel Councils against her. She had been first sent for upon the breaking out of *Wiat's* Conspiracy: And though she lay then Sick in Bed, she was forced to come to Court: There she was at first confined to her Lodgings, and was afterwards carried to the Tower, and led into it by the *Traytor's* Gate, and was strictly guarded: Her Servants were put from her, and none had Access to her, but those that were Spies upon her: Nor was she suffered to walk on the Leads, or have the ordinary Comforts of Air. Some were put to the Rack to draw Confessions from them, but none accused her, except *Wiat*, and he retracted what he had said in hopes of a Pardon, when he was upon the Scaffold. When it appeared that nothing could be made out against her, she was sent down to *Woodstock*; and was kept under strict Guards, and very roughly used by *Sir Henry Bennefield*. But King *Philip* so far mollified the Queen towards her, that he prevailed with her to bring her to Court; and to admit her to her Presence. *Gardiner*, and many others, dealt much with her to confess her Offences, and ask the Queen's Pardon: But she always stood upon her Innocence, and said, she had never offended her, not so much as in her Thoughts. When she was brought to the Queen, she renewed the same Protestations to her, and begged that she

she would entertain a good Opinion of her. Book III.

The Queen, though she pressed her much to acknowledge some Faultiness, yet seemed to be satisfied with what she said; and parted with her in good Terms; of which King *Philip* had some Apprehensions, for he had conveyed himself secretly into a Corner of the Room, that he might prevent a further Breach, in case the Queen should fall into Heats with her. After this, her Guards were discharged, and she seemed to be at Liberty: But she had so many Spies about her, that to avoid all Suspicion, she meddled in no sort of Business, but gave herself wholly to Study: Thus was she employed for five Years; during which Time, she was under continual Apprehensions of Death; which was perhaps a necessary Preparation for that long Course of Prosperity and Glory, with which she was afterwards blest.

1558.

During the Sitting of Parliaments, the *Bi-More* shops did always intermit their Cruelties; Burnings. but as soon as they were over, they returned to them. *Cuthbert Simpson*, one in Deacons Orders, had been taken at the Meeting in *Wilmington*, and was rack'd with extream Severity, to make him confess all the Friends they had in *London*; but nothing was drawn from him; so in *March*, he and two others were burnt in *Smithfield*. In *April*, one was burnt at *Hereford*; and in *May*, three were burnt at *Colchester*: Several Books were printed beyond Sea, and secretly conveyed into *England*: upon which, a Proclamation of a very strange Nature was set out; 'That if any received any of these Books, and did not
' pre-

1558.

presently burn them, without either reading them, or shewing them to any Person, they were to be executed immediately by Martial Law. Seven were burnt in *Smithfield* in the End of *May*, and another Proclamation was at that Time made in the Queen's Name, against all that should speak to them, or pray for them: But no Authority could restrain those Prayers which devout Minds offered up secretly to God. Six were burnt at *Brentford* in *July*: A Minister was burnt at *Norwich*, in that Month. In *August*, a Gentleman was burnt near *Winchester*: At *St. Edmundsbury*, Four were burnt in *August*, and Three more in *November*; at the same Time, a Man and Woman were burnt at *Ipswich*; a Woman was also burnt at *Exeter*; and on the 10th of *November*, Three Men and Two Women were burnt at *Canterbury*, in all **XXXIX** this Year. All that were burnt during this Reign, as far as I could gather the Number, were 284; though *Grindall*, that lived in that Time, writes, that in Two Years 800 were burnt; many more were imprisoned, 60 died in Prison; others, after much cruel Usage, *Bonner* himself often disciplining them with Whips and Tortures, were prevailed on to abjure; but carried in their Minds a deep Aversion to that Cruelty which had tempted them to such Apostacy. At first Pardons were offered at the Stake, to tempt the Martyrs to the last Moment of their Life; but afterwards the Priests Cruelty, as it continued to the last Week of the Queen's Life, so it increased to that degree, that *Bembridge*, who was burnt near *Winchester*,
fier,

er, in *August*, crying out, when he felt the Book III.
Violence of the Fire, that he recanted; the Sheriff made his People put out the Fire, and 1558.
oped, that since the Clergy pretended that they desired the Conversion, and not the Destruction of the Hereticks, this Act of Mercy would not displease them: But the Council writ to him, ordering him to go on and execute the Sentence, and to take Care that he should die a good Catholick; for it was said, he recanted sincerely, he was fit to die; and if he did it not sincerely, he was not to live: And when this was done, the Sheriff was put in the *Fleet* for his Pre-emption.

This Year the Lord *Clinton* was sent with Ill Success, and a Fleet of 120 Ships, and 7000 Land-men in *France*; he made but one Descent, and lost 600 Men in it; so after an inglorious and expenceful Voyage, he returned back. *English* had lost their Hearts, and began to think that Heaven was against them. Extraordinary Accidents increased those Apprehensions: Thunder broke violently in *Nottingham*; the *Trent* swell'd excessively, and did much Mischief. Hail-stones of a huge bigness fell in some Places. Intermitting Fevers were so Universal and Contagious, that they raged like a Plague: So that in many Places there were not People enough to reap the Harvest: All which tended to increase the Aversion to the Government, and disposed the Queen to hearken to Overtures of Peace. This was projected between the Bishop of *Arras*, and the Cardinal of *Orleans*, who were the chief Favourites to the

1558.

the two Kings, and were both much set on
 extirpating Heresy, which could not be done
 during the Continuance of the War; the
 Cardinal of *Lorain* was more earnest in it
 because the Constable, who was the Head
 of the Faction against the House of *Guise*, was
 suspected to favour it, and his three Ne-
 phews, the *Colignies* were known to incline
 to it: The King of *France* had also lost ano-
 ther Battel this Year, at *Gravelin*, which
 made him desire a Peace: For he thought
 driving the *English* out of *France*, did com-
 pensate both that, and his Loss at *St. Qua-
 tin*: So both those Princes reckoned they
 had such Advantages, that they might make
 Peace with Honour; and they being then
 disposed to it, a Treaty was opened at *Ca-
 bray*. *Philip* in his own Disposition was much
 inclined to extirpate Heresy, and the Brothers
 of *Guise* possessed the King of *France* with
 the same Maxims: Which seemed more ne-
 cessary, because Heresy had then spread
 much in that Court, that both the King and
 Queen of *Navarre* declared themselves for
 the Reformation: And great Numbers in the
 publick Walks about *Paris*, used to assemble
 at Nights, and sing *David's* Psalms in Verse.
 The King of *Navarre* was the first Prince
 of the Blood, and so was in great Consideration
 for his Rank, but he was a weak Man: His
 Queen was the Wonder of her Age, both for
 great Parts, eminent Virtues, and a most
 extraordinary Sense of Religion. There was
 an Edict set out, forbidding this Psalmody,
 but the Dignity of these Crowned Heads, and
 the Numbers of those that were engaged

made it seem not adviseable to punish any Book III.
for it, at least till a general Peace had been
first made. 1558.

In April was the Dauphin married to the The Dau-
Queen of Scotland, which was honoured by phin and
an Epithalamium, writ by Buchanan, reckon- Queen of
ed to be one of the rarest Pieces of Latin Scotland
poetry. The Deputies sent from Scotland married.

were desired to offer the Dauphin the Crown
of Scotland, in the Right of his Wife: But
they said, that exceeded the Bounds of their
Commission, so they only promised to repre-
sent the Matter to the States of Scotland, but
could not conceal the Aversion they had to
it. Soon after four of the seven that were
sent over died, and the fifth escaped nar-
rowly. It was generally suspected that they
were poisoned: When the rest returned to
Scotland, an Assembly of the States was cal-
led, in which it was agreed to allow the
Dauphin the Title of King, but with this
 proviso, that he should have no Power over
them; and that it was only a bare Title
which they offered him. This was appointed
to be carried to him by the Earl of Argyle,
and the Prior of St. Andrews, who had been
the chief Sticklers for the French Interest, in
places of the Queen Regent's Protection a-
gainst the Rage of the Bishops, in Matters
of Religion.

In England, a Parliament was called the A Parlia-
ment in
the November: The Queen being ill, sent ment in
the Speaker of the House of Commons, England.
and laid before him the ill Condition of the
Nation, and the Necessity of putting it in a
posture of Defence: But the Commons were
so

Book III. so ill satisfied with the Conduct of Affairs, that they could come to no Resolution; so on the 14th of that Month, Twelve of the chief Lords of both Estates came down to the House of Commons, and desired them to grant a Subsidy to defend the Nation, both against the *French* and *Scots*: But the Commons came to no Conclusion till the Queen's Death, on the 17th, put an end to the Parliament.

The
Queen's
Death.

Her false Conception, and the Melancholy that followed it, which received a Surge from the Loss of *Calais*, brought her into an ill Habit of Body, and that turned to a Dropsy, which put an End to her unhappy Reign, in the Forty Third Year of her Age, after she had reigned Five Years, Four Months and Eleven Days. Sixteen Hours after her, Cardinal *Pool* died, in the Fifth Ninth Year of his Age. He left *Priuli*, a Noble *Venetian*, that had lived Twenty Six Years in an entire Friendship with him, his Executor: But as *Pool* had not studied to heap up much Wealth, so *Priuli*, who had refused a Cardinal's Hat, rather than be obliged thereby to lose his Company, gave it all away, and reserved nothing to himself, but his Breviary and Diary.

Pool's
Death and
Character

Pool was a learned, humble, prudent and moderate Man; and had certainly the best Notions of any of his Party then in *England*. But he was almost alone in them; so that the Queen, whose Temper and Principles were fierce and severe, preferred the bloody Counsels of *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, to the wiser and better Methods which he proposed. And

though

though his Superstition for the See of Rome, continued still with him, yet his Eyes were opened in many Things. His being Legate at Trent, and his Retirement at Viterbo, had both enlightned and composd his Mind; and that joined to the Probity and Sweetness of his Temper, produced great Effects in him. His Character deserves the more to be enlarged on, because there were no others of the Clergy at that Time, concerning whom even a partial Historian can find much good to relate; for their Temporizing and Dissimulation, in the Changes that were made, and their Cruelty, when Power was put in their Hands, were so scandalous, that it is scarce possible to write of them with that Softness of Style that becomes an Historian.

1558.

The Queen had been bred to some more than ordinary Knowledge: A froward Sort of Virtue, and a melancholy Piety, are the best Things that can be said of her. She left the Conduct of Affairs wholly in the Hands of her Council, and gave herself up to follow all the Dictates and Humours of the Clergy: And though she esteemed *Pool* beyond them all, yet she imputed the Moderateness of his Counsels, rather to his Temper, than to his Judgment: And perhaps thought that the Pope, who pressed all Princes to set up Courts of Inquisition for extirpating of Heresy, was more likely to be infallible than the Cardinal: And as Princes were required by the fourth Council in the *Lateran*, to extirpate Hereticks, under the Pain of forfeiting their Dominions; so the Pope had set out a Decree this Year, by the Advice of his Cardinals, confirming all

The
Queen's
Character

Book III. all Canons against Hereticks ; declared that
 1558. such Princes as fell into Heresy, did thereby
 forfeit all their Rights, without any special
 Sentence ; and that any that could, might
 seize on their Dominions. The Bishops had
 also this to say for the Severities, that by the
 Oath which they took at their Consecrations,
 they were bound to *persecute Hereticks with*
all their Might ; so that the Principles of
 that Religion, working on sowe and re-
 vengeful Tempers, it was no wonder that
 cruel Councils were more acceptable than
 moderate ones.

5 DE60



CARDINAL POOLE



BISHOP GARDINER



QUEEN ELIZABETH



ARCH BISHOP PARKER

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AN
ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
Story of the Reformation
OF THE
Church of ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

*the Settlement of the Reformation in
the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth's
Reign.*

THE Morning after Queen Mary Book IV.
died, the Lord Chancellor went
to the House of Lords, and 1558.
communicated to them the Queen
News of her Death, and then Elizabeth
for the Commons, and declared it proclama-
them: And added, that the Crown ed.
now devolved on their present Queen
Elizabeth, whose Title they were resol-
to proclaim: This was ecchoed with
repeated

Book III. repeated Acclamations, which were so full

1558.

Joy, that it appeared how weary the Nation was of the cruel and weak Administration of Affairs under the former Reign, and that they hoped for better Times under the new. And indeed the Proclaiming the new Queen both at *Westminster*, and in the City of *London*, was received with such unusual Transports of Joy, as gave the Melancholly Priests just Cause to fear a new Revolution in Matters of Religion; and though the Queen's Death affected them with a very sensible Sorrow, yet the Joy in this Change was so great and so universal, that a sad Look was thought Criminal, and the Priests were glad to vent their Grievances at their forsaken Altars, which were now like to be converted again into Communion Tables.

The Queen came to *London*.

The Queen came from *Hatfield*, where she had lived private, to *London*. The shops met her at *Highgate*; she received them all kindly, only she look'd on Bonas as defiled with so much Blood, that it seem'd indecent to treat him with the Sweetness that always attends the Beginnings of Reigns; she shew'd common Civility to a Person so polluted, might seem some Countenance to his Crime. She pass'd through *London*, in the midst of the Joys, that People, delivered from the Terror of Fires and Slavery, could express. She quickly shewed, that she was resolv'd to retain no Impressions of the Hardships she had met with in her Sister's Time, and treated those that had used her worst, with great Gentleness, *Bennefield* himself not excepted, only with a Sharpness of Raillery, she us'd

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call him her *Jaylor*. She gave Notice of her coming to the Crown to all Foreign Princes, and writ particular Acknowledgments to King *Philip*, for the good Offices he had done her. Book IV.
1558.

Among the rest, she writ to Sir *Edward Karn*, that was her Sister's Ambassador at *Rome*. But the Pope in his usual Stile told him, that *England* was a Fee of the Papacy, and that it was a high Presumption in her, to take the Crown without his Consent, especially she being illegitimate: But he said, if she would renounce her Pretensions, and refer herself wholly to him, she might expect from him all the Favour that could consist with the Dignity of the Apostolick See. The Queen hearing this, recalled *Karn's* Power; but he being a zealous Papist, continued still at *Rome*.

Philip proposed Marriage to the Queen, and undertook to procure a Dispensation for it from *Rome*: But the Queen, as she continued all her Life averse to that State of Life, so she knew how unacceptable a Stranger, and particularly a *Spaniard*, would be to her People: She did not much value the Pope's Dispensation; and if two Sisters might marry the same Person, then two Brothers might likewise marry the same Woman: Which would have overthrown all the Arguments for her Father's Divorce with Queen *Catherine*, upon which the Validity of her Mother's Marriage and her Legitimation did depend. Yet though she firmly resolved not to marry King *Philip*, she thought that during the Treaty at *Cambray*, it was not fit to put him quite out of Hopes; so he sent to *Rome* for a

Book IV. Dispensation, but the *French* sent to oppose it, and set up a Pretension for the young Queen of *Scotland*, as the rightful Heir to the Crown of *Scotland*.

The
Counfels
about
changing
Religion.

The Queen continued to employ most of her Sister's Privy-Counsellors; and they had turned so often before, in Matters of Religion, that it was not likely they would be intractable in that Point: But to these she added divers others; the most eminent of whom, were Sir *Will. Cecyl*, and Sir *Nicholas Bacon*. She ordered all that were imprisoned on the Account of Religion, to be set at Liberty: Upon which, one, that used to talk pleasantly, told her, the four Evangelists continued still Prisoners, and that the People longed much to see them at Liberty: She answered, she would talk with themselves, and know their own Mind. Some proposed the annulling all Queen *Mary's* Parliaments, because Force was used in the first, and the Writs for another were not lawful, since the Title of *Supreme Head* was left out in the Summons, before it was taken away by Law: But it was thought a Precedent of dangerous Consequence, to annul Parliaments upon Errors in Writs, or particular Disorders. The Queen desired, that all the Changes that should be made, might be so managed, as to breed as little Divisions among her People as was possible; she did not like the Title of *Supreme Head*, as importing too great an Authority. She loved Magnificence in Religion, as she affected it in all other Things; this made her inclined to keep Images still in Churches: And that the Popish Party might

might be offended as little as was possible, Book IV.
 she intended to have the Manner of Christ's
 Prefence in the Sacrament defined in general 1558.
 Terms, that might comprehend all Sides.
 A Scheme was formed of the Method in
 which it was most adviseable for the Queen
 to proceed, and put in *Cecyl's* Hands.

' It was thought necessary to do nothing A Scheme
 ' till a Parliament were called: The Queen proposed.
 ' had reason to look for all the Mischief that
 ' the Pope could do her, who would set on
 ' the *French*, and by their Means, the *Scots*,
 ' and perhaps the *Irish*, against her. The
 ' Clergy, and those that were employed in
 ' Queen *Mary's* Time, would oppose it;
 ' and do what they could to inflame the
 ' Nation: And the greater Part of the
 ' People loved the Pomp of the old Ceremo-
 ' nies. It was therefore proposed, that the
 ' Queen should on any Terms make Peace
 ' with *France*; and encourage the Party in
 ' *Scotland*, that desired a Reformation. The
 ' Clergy were generally hated for their Cru-
 ' elty, and it would be easy to bring them
 ' within the Statute of *Præmunire*: Care
 ' was also to be taken to expose the former
 ' Councillors, for the ill Conduct of Affairs
 ' in Queen *Mary's* Time, and so to lessen
 ' their Credit. It was also proposed to look
 ' well to the Commissions, both for the
 ' Peace and the Militia, and to the Univer-
 ' sities. Some learned Men were to be orde-
 ' red, to consider what Alterations were fit
 ' to be made, and by what Steps they should
 ' proceed. It was thought fit to begin with
 ' the Communion in both Kinds.

Book IV

1558.
The Impatience
of some.

27 Decem.

Now did the Exiles, that had fled beyond Sea, return again; and some zealous People began in many Places, to break Images, and set up King *Edward's* Service again. Upon this, the Queen ordered, that the Litany, and other Parts of the Service, should be said in *English*, and that no Elevation should be used in the Mass: But required her Subjects by Proclamation, to avoid all Innovations, and use no other Forms but those that she kept up in her Chapel, till it should be otherwise appointed in Parliament. She ordered her Sister's Funeral to be performed with the ordinary Magnificence: *White*, Bishop of *Winchester*, that preached the Sermon, not only extolled her Government much, but made severe Reflections on the present State of Affairs; for which he was confined to his House for some Time.

Parker refuses the
See of
Canterbury
long.

Many Sees were now vacant: So one of the first Things that came under Consultation, was the finding out fit Men for them. *Dr. Parker* was pitched on, as the fittest Man for the See of *Canterbury*: He had been Chaplain to *Anne Boleyn*, and had been employed in instructing the Queen in the Points of Religion, when she was young: He was well known to *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, and both He and *Cecyl* gave so high a Character of him, that it meeting with the Queen's particular Esteem, made them resolve on advancing him: But as soon as he knew it, he used all the Arguments possibly he could against it, both from the Weakness of his Body, and his Unfitness for so great a Charge. He desired that he might be put in some small

Benefice

of the Reformation, &c.

317

Benefice of 20 Nobles a Year ; so far was he from aspiring to great Wealth, or high Dignities : And as *Cranmer* had done before him, he continued for many Months so averse to it, that it was very hard to overcome him. Book IV.
1558.

Such Promotions are generally, if not greedily sought after, yet at least willingly enough undertaken ; but this looked liker the Practices in Ancient than Modern Times. In the best Ages of the Church, instead of that *Ambitus* which has given such Scandal to the World in latter Times, it was ordinary for Men to fly from the Offer of great Preferments, and to retire to a Wilderness, or a Monastery, rather than undertake a Charge, which they thought above their Merit or Capacity to discharge. And this will still shew it self in all such as have a just Sense of the Pastoral Care, and consider the Discharging that, more than the raising or enriching themselves or their Families. And it was thought no small Honour to the Reformation, that the two chief Instruments that promoted it, *Cranmer* and *Parker*, gave such Evidences of a Primitive Spirit, in being so unwillingly advanced.

The Seals were taken from *Heath*, and put in *Bacon's* Hands, who was declared *Lord Keeper*, and had all the Dignity and Authority of the Chancellor's Office, without the Title ; which was perhaps an Effect of his great Modesty, that adorned his other great Qualities. As he was Eminent in himself, so he was happy in being Father to the Great Sir *Francis Bacon*, one of the chief Glories of the *English* Nation. 1559.
Bacon
made *Lord*
Keeper.

Book IV.

1559.

The
Queen
is Crown-
ed.

On the 13th of *January*, the Queen was Crowned: When she entered into her Chariot at the *Tower*, she offered up an humble Acknowledgment to God, for delivering her out of that *Lions Den*, and preserving her to that Joyful Day. She passed through *London* in great Triumph, and received all the Expressions of Joy from her People, with so much Sweetness, as gained as much on their Hearts, as her Sister's Sowreness had alienated them from her. Under one of the Triumphal Arches, a Child came down as from Heaven, representing *Truth* with a *Bible* in his Hand, which she received on her Knees, and kissed it, and said, she preferred that above all the other Presents that were that Day made her: She was Crowned by *Oglethorp*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, for all the other Bishops refused to assist at it; and he only could be prevailed on to do it. They perceived that she intended to make Changes in Religion, and though many of them had changed often before, yet they resolved now to stick firmer to that which they had so lately professed, and for which they had shed so much Blood.

A Parlia-
ment is
called.

The Parliament was opened on the 25th of *January*. *Bacon* made a long Speech both concerning Matters of Religion, and the State of the Nation. He desired they would examine the former Religion, without Heat or Partial Affection; and that all Reproaches might be forborn, and Extremes avoided: And that Things might be so settled, that all might agree in an Uniformity in Divine Worship. He laid open the Errors of the former Reign, and

and aggravated the Loss of *Calais*: But shewed, that it could not be easily recovered. Book IV.

He made a high Panegyrick on the Queen; but when he shewed the Necessities she was in, he said, she would desire no Supply, but what they should freely and chearfully offer. The House of Commons began at a Debate, Whether the Want of the Title of *Supreme Head* in the Enumeration of the Queen's Titles, made a Nullity in the Writs, by which this and some former Parliaments had been summoned: But they concluded in the Negative.

The Treaty at *Cambray* stuck chiefly at the Restitution of *Calais*: And King *Philip* for a great while insisted so positively on it, that he refused to make Peace on other Terms. *England* had lost it by a War, in which they engaged on his Account; so in Honour he was bound to see to it. But when the Hopes of his marrying the Queen vanished, and when he saw she was going to make Changes in Religion, he grew more careless of her Interests, and told the *English* Ambassadors, that unless they would enter into a League for keeping up the War six Years longer, he must submit to the Necessity of his Affairs, and make Peace. So the Queen listened to Propositions sent her from *France*. She complained of the Queen of *Scotland* assuming the Title and Arms of *England*: It was answered, that since she carried the Title and Arms of *France*, she had no Reason to quarrel much on that Account. She saw she could not make War with *France* alone, and knew that *Philip* had made a separate Peace.

Book IV. She had no Mind to begin her Reign with a War, that would probably be unsuccessful, or demand Subsidies that would be so grievous, as that thereby she might lose the Affections of her People. The Loss of *Calais* was no Reproach on her, but fell wholly on her Sister's Memory. And since she intended to make some Changes in Matters of Religion, it was necessary to be at quiet with her Neighbours: Upon this, she resolved to make Peace with *France*, on the best Terms that could be obtained. It was agreed, that at the End of eight Years, *Calais* should either be restored, or Five Hundred Thousands Crowns should be paid the Queen: Yet if, during that time, she made War, either on *France*, or *Scotland*, she was to forfeit her Right to *Calais*. *Aymouth* in *Scotland*, was to be raised, and all Differences on the Borders there, were to be determined by some deputed on both Sides. This being adjusted, a general Peace between the Crowns of *England*, *France* and *Spain* was concluded: And thus the Queen being freed from the dangerous Consultations that the Continuance of a War might have involved her in, was the more at Liberty to settle Matters at Home.

Acts pass
in Parlia-
ment.

The first Bill that was brought to try the Temper of the Parliament, was for the Restitution of the Tenth and First Fruits to the Crown: Against this all the Bishops protested; but that was all the Opposition made to it. By it, not only that Tax was of new laid on the Clergy, but all the Impropriated Benefices, which Queen *Mary* had surrendered, were restored to the Crown.

After

After this, the Commons made an Address Book IV.
to the Queen, desiring her to chuse such a Husband as might make both herself, and the Nation happy. She received this very kindly, since they had neither limited her to Time, nor Nation: But declared, that as hitherto she had lived with great Satisfaction in a single State, and had refused the Propositions that had been made her, both in her Brother's and Sister's Reign, so she had no Inclination to change her Course of Life. If ever she did it, she would take care that it should be for the Good, and to the Satisfaction of her People. She thought she was married to the Nation at her Coronation, and looked on her People as her Children; and she would be well contented, if her Tombstone might tell Posterity, *Here lies a Queen that reigned so long, and lived and died a Virgin.* There was little more Progress made in this Matter, save, that a Committee was appointed by both Houses to consider what should be the Authority of the Person, whom the Queen might happen to marry; but she sent them a Message, to proceed to other Affairs, and let that alone.

A Bill for the Recognition of her Title to the Crown was put in: It was not thought necessary to repeal the Sentence of her Mother's Divorce, for the Crown purged all Defects: And it was thought needless to look back unto a Thing, which could not be done, without at least casting some Reproach on her Father; so it was in general Words enacted, That they did assuredly believe and declare, that by the Laws of God and the Realm,

Book IV. 'she was their lawful Queen, and was
 1559. 'Rightly and Lineally descended'. This
 was thought a much wiser Way, than if they
 had examined the Sentence of Divorce, that
 pass'd, upon the Confession of a Precontract,
 which must have reviv'd the Remembrance of
 Things that were better left in Silence.

Acts con-
 cerning
 Religion.

Bills were put in for the *English* Service,
 for reviving King *Edward's* Laws, and for annexing the Supremacy again to the Crown.
 To that concerning the Supremacy, two Temporal Lords, and nine Bishops, with the Abbot of *Westminster*, dissented. It was proposed to revive the Law, for making the Bishops by Letters Patents, as was in King *Edward's* Time; but they chose rather to renew the Act for electing them, made in the 25. *Hen. 8.* They reviv'd all Acts made against the Pope's Power, in King *Henry's* Time; and repealed those made by Queen *Mary*. They enacted an Oath, for acknowledging the Queen Supreme Governor in all Causes, and over all Persons: Those that refused it, were to forfeit all Offices that they held, either in Church or State, and to be under a Disability, during Life. If any should advance the Authority of a Foreign Power; for the first Offence, they were to be Fined or Imprisoned; for the second to be in a *Premunire*; and the third was made *Treason*. The Queen was also empowered to give Commissions, for judging and reforming Ecclesiastical Matters; who were limited to judge nothing to be Heresy, but what had been already so judged by the Authority of the Scripture, or the first Four General Councils. All Points that were not decided,

either

either by exprefs Words of Scripture, or by those Councils, were to be referred to the Parliament and Convocation. The Title of *Supreme Head* was changed, partly because the Queen had some Scruples about it, partly to moderate the Opposition which the Popish Party might otherwise make to it: And the refusing the Oath was made no other way Penal, but that all Offices or Benefices were forfeited upon it; which was a great Mitigation of the Severity in King Henry's Time. The Bishops are said to have made several Speeches against this, in the House of Lords: But that which goes under the Name of *Heath's* Speech, must be a Forgery; for in it the Supremacy is called a new and unheard-of Thing, which could not have flowed from one that had sworn it so often, both under King Henry and King Edward. *Tonstall* came not to this Parliament, and he was so offended with the Cruelties of the last Reign, that he had withdrawn himself into his Diocese, where he burnt none himself; upon that it was now thought, that he was so much alienated from those Methods that some had great Hopes of his declaring for the Reformation. *Heath* had been likewise very moderate, nor were any burnt under him. Upon the Power given the Queen, to appoint some to reform and direct all Ecclesiastical Matters, was the Court, called the *High Commission Court*, founded: Which indeed was nothing but the sharing that Authority, which was in one Person in King Henry's Time, into many Hands: For that Court had no other Authority, but that which was lodged

Book IV. lodged formerly in *Cromwell*, as the King's Vicegerent, and was now thought too great to be trusted to one Man.

1559.
Preaching
without
License
forbidden

Great Complaints were made of Seditious Sermons, preached by the Popish Clergy: Upon which the Queen followed the Precedent that her Sister had made, and forbid all Preaching, excepting only by such as obtained a License under the Great Seal for it: She likewise sent an Order to the Convocation, requiring them, under the Pains of a *Præmunire*, to make no Canons. Yet the Lower-House, in an Address to the Upper-House, declared for the Corporal Presence, and that the Mass was a Propitiatory Sacrifice, and for the Supremacy, and that Matters of Religion fell only under the Cognizance of the Pastors of the Church. The greatest Part of both the Universities had also set their Hands to all these Points, except the last.

This, it seems, was the rather added by the Clerks of Convocation, to hinder a publick Conference, which the Queen had appointed between the Bishops and the Reformed Divines. It was first proposed to *Heath*, who was still a Privy-Counciller; and he, after some Conference about it with his Brethren, accepted of it. Nine of a Side were to dispute about three Points: Worship in an Unknown Tongue; the Power that every particular Church had to alter Rites and Ceremonies; and the Mass's being a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead and the Living: All was to be given in in Writing. The Bishops were to begin in every Point, and they were to interchange their Papers, and answer them.

them. The last of *March* was the first Day Book. IV. of Conference, which was held in *Westminster-Abbey*, in the Presence of the Privy-Council, and both Houses of Parliament. The Bishop of *Winchester* pretended, there had been some Mistake in the Order, and that their Paper was not quite finished, but that Dr. *Cole* should deliver in Discourse what they had prepared, though it was not yet in that Order, that it could be copied out. The secret of this was, the Bishops had resolved openly to vindicate their Doctrine, but not to give any Papers, or enter into Dispute with Hereticks, or so far to acknowledge the Queen's Supremacy, as to engage in Conferences at her Command. *Cole* was observed to read almost all he said, though he affected to be thought only to deliver a Discourse so, as if most Part of it had been Extemporary.

The Substance of it was, That though the Argument for Worship in a known Tongue had been appointed in the Scriptures, yet the Church had and a Power to change it, as she changed the Sabbath, and had appointed the Sacrament to be received fasting, though it was instituted after Supper: To eat Blood was forbid, and a Community of Goods was set up by the Apostles; yet it was in the Power of the Church to alter these Things; he enlarged on the Evil of Schism, and the Necessity of adhering to the Church of *Rome*. Vulgar Tongues changed daily, but the *Latin* was the same, and was spread over many Countries. The People might reap Profit from Prayers which they understood not, as well as absent Persons. The Queen of *Ethiopia's* Eunuch read *Isaiah*,

Book IV. *Isaiah*, though he understood him not ; and
 Philip was sent to explain that Prophecy to
 him.

1559.

Horn, when this was ended, read the Paper drawn by the Reformers : He began it with a Prayer, and a Protestation of their Sincerity. They founded their Assertion on *St. Paul's* Epistle to the *Corinthians* ; in which he enjoined them to pray with Understanding, that so the Unlearned might say *Amen* ; and that nothing should be spoken that might give an uncertain Sound, but that all Things should be done to Edification : And though the speaking with strange Tongues was then an extraordinary Gift of the Holy Ghost, yet he forbids the using it, where there was no Interpreter. Things so expressly enjoined, could not be indifferent, or fall under the Power of the Church. The *Jews* had their Worship in the vulgar Tongue ; so had also the most barbarous Nations, when converted to Christianity. The natural Use of Speech was, that every thing which was said might be understood. Quotations were brought, to show that Psalms were daily sung in the vulgar Tongue among all Nations.

When they ended their Paper, it was received with a Shout of Applause ; and was put in the Lord-Keeper's Hands, signed by them all. But the Bishops refused to deliver theirs. The next day was appointed for the considering the second Point ; but the Bishops resolved to go no further in the Conference ; for they saw by the Applause of the People, that the Audience was more favourable

ble to the other Side : So the next Day of Book IV.
Meeting, they offered an Answer to the Paper
given in the former Day by the Reformers. 1559.

The Lord-Keeper told them, that according to the Order laid down, they were first to go through the three Points, before they might be suffer'd to reply : But they said, *Cole* had the former Day only given his own Sense in an extemporary Discourse. Their foul Dealing in this was condemned by the whole Audience, so the Lord-Keeper required them to go to the second Point ; but they refused to begin, and moved that the other Side should be made to begin : And though the Lord-Keeper shewed them that this was contrary to the Order agreed on beforehand, yet they continued all resolute, and would not proceed any further ; *Fecknam* only excepted : But he said, he could do nothing alone, since the rest would not join with him. The Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln* said, The Faith of the Church ought not to be examined, except in a Synod of Divines : And it gave too great an Encouragement to Hereticks, to dispute with them : And that both the Queen and her Council deserved to be excommunicated, for suffering them to argue against the Catholick Faith, before an unlearned Multitude. Upon this, they were sent to the Tower, and the Conference broke up. But the Reformers thought the Advantage was much on their Side ; and that Things were now carried much more fairly, than had been in those Conferences and Disputes, that were in the Beginning of the former Reign. The Papists, on the other hand, said, it was visible the Audi-
ence

1559.

The *Eng-
lish* Ser-
vice is a-
gain set
up.


Speeches
made a-
gainst it
by some
Bishops.

ence was preposseſſed, and that the Confe-
rence was appointed only to make way for the
Changes that the Parliament was then about,
with the Pomp of a Victory; and therefore as
they blamed the Bishops for undertaking it,
ſo they juſtified them for breaking it off.

The Book of Common-Prayer was now re-
viſed; the moſt conſiderable Alteration was,
That the expreſs Declaration, which was made
in the ſecond Book, ſet out by King *Edward*,
againſt the Corporal Preſence, was left out,
that ſo none might be driven out of the Com-
munion of the Church upon that Account.
The Matter was left undetermined, as a ſpe-
culative Point, in which People were left at
Liberty. The Book of Ordination was not
ſpecially mentioned in the Act; which gave
occaſion to *Bonner* afterwards to queſtion the
Legality of Ordinations made by it. But it
had been made a Part of the Common-Prayer
Book in the 5th Year of King *Edward*; and
the whole Book, then ſet out, was now con-
firmed: So that by a ſpecial Act made ſome
Years after this, it was declared, that that
Office was underſtood to be a Part of it.

When the Bill for the *Engliſh* Service was
put into the Houſe of Lords, *Heath*, and *Scot*
Bishop of *Cheſter*, and *Fecknam*, made long
Speeches againſt it, grounded chiefly on the
Authority of the Church, the Antiquity of
the Eſtabliſhed Religion, and Novelty of the
other, which was changed every Day, as ap-
peared in King *Edward's* Time. They ſaid,
the Conſent of the Catholick Church, and the
perpetual Succeſſion in *St. Peter's* Chair, ought
to have more Authority, than a few Preachers

riſe

risen up of late. They also enlarged much Book IV.
 against Sacrilege, the robbing of Churches, 
 and the breaking of Images, that had been 1559.
 committed by the Reformers, and those that
 favoured them. What was said in opposition
 to this in the House of Lords, is not known;
 but a great deal of it may be gather'd from
 the Paper which the Reformed Divines drew
 upon the second Point, about which they
 were appointed to dispute, of the Power that
 every Church had to reform itself. This they
 founded on the Epistles of St. Paul to the
 particular Churches, and St. John's to the
 Angels of the seven Churches. In the first
 three Ages there were no General Councils,
 but every Bishop in his Diocese, or such few
 Bishops as could assemble together, condemn'd
 Heresies, or determined Matters that were
 contested; so did also the orthodox Bishops
 after *Arianism* had so overspread the World,
 that even the See of Rome was defiled with it.
 And Abuses were condemned in many Places,
 without staying for a general Concurrence:
 Tho' that was then more possible, when all
 was under one Emperor, than it was at pre-
 sent. Even in Queen Mary's Time, many
 Superstitions, as Pilgrimages, and the wor-
 shipping of Relicks, were laid aside. There-
 fore they concluded, that the Queen might,
 by her own Authority, reform even the Cler-
 gy, as *Hezekiah* and *Josias* had done under
 the Old Law. When the Act passed in the
 House of Lords, eight Spiritual Lords and
 nine Temporal Lords protested against it;
 among whom was the Marquis of *Winchester*,
 Lord Treasurer. Another Act passed with
 more

1559.

more Opposition, that the Queen might re-serve some Lands belonging to Bishopricks to herself, as they fell void, giving in lieu of them Impropriated Tythes to the Value of them: But this was much opposed in the House of Commons, who apprehended, that under this Pretence, there might new Spoils be made of Church-Lands; so that upon a Division of the House, 90 were against it, but 133 were for it; and so it was pass'd. All Religious Houses founded by the late Queen were suppress'd, and united to the Crown. The Deprivation of the Popish Bishops in King *Edward's* Time, was declared valid in Law; by which all the Leases which had been made by those that were put in their Sees were good in Law. A Subsidy, and two Tenths, and two Fifteenths, with the B. of Tonnage and Poundage, were given; and so the Parliament was dissolved on the 8th of May.

Some Bills were propos'd, but not pass'd. One was for restoring the Bishops depriv'd by Queen *Mary*, who were *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Coverdale*: But the first of these had been made to resign; and the last, being extremely old, resolv'd to follow *Latimer's* Example, and not return to his See: So it was not thought worth the while to make an Act for *Scory* alone. Another Bill that was laid a-side was for restoring all Churchmen to their Benefices, that had been turned out because they were married: But, it seems, it was not thought decent enough to begin with such an Act. Another Bill that came to nothing, was for empowering thirty two Persons to re-

the Ecclesiastical Laws : But as this last was Book IV.
then let fall, so, to the great prejudice of this Church, it has slept ever since. 1559.

After the Parliament was dissolved, the Many Bi-
Oath of Supremacy was tender'd to the Bi-shops
shops ; and all, except *Kitchin*, Bishop of *Landaff*, refused it. *Tonstall* continued un-out-
resolved till *September*, and so did the Queen
delay the putting it to him : But at last he re-
fused it, and so lost his Bishoprick. It was
generally believed that he quitted it rather,
because being extreme old, he thought it in-
decent to forsake his Brethren, and to be still
changing, than out of any Scruple he had
in his Conscience concerning it. All the Bi-
shops were at first put under Confinement,
but they were soon after set at liberty ; only
Bonner, *White* and *Watson*, were kept Pri-
soners. Many Complaints were brought a-
gainst *Bonner*, for the Cruelties he had been
guilty of against the Law, and the Tortures
he had put his Prisoners to himself : But yet
the Queen resolved not to stain the Begin-
nings of her Reign with Blood ; and the Re-
formed Divines were, in Imitation of *Nazi-
anzen*, (upon the like Revolution in the Ro-
man Empire) exhorting their Followers not
to think of revenging themselves, but to leave
that to God. *Heath* lived privately at his
own House, in which he was sometimes visit-
ed by the Queen. *Tonstall* and *Thirlby* were
appointed to live in *Lambeth*, with the new
Archbishop. *White* and *Watson* were morose
and haughty Men, much addicted to the
School-Divinity, which has been often ob-
served to incline People to an over-valuing of
them-

Book IV. themselves. All the other Bishops, except *Pates, Scot, and Goldwell*, that had been Bishops of *Worcester, Chester, and St. Asaph*, continued still in *England*; but these had leave to go beyond Sea. A few Gentlemen, and the Nuns went likewise out of *England*: And so gentle was the Queen, that she denied them Liberty to none that asked it.

The Queen inclined to keep Images in Churches.

The Queen inclined to keep Images still in Churches; and though the Reformed Divines made many Applications to divert her from it, yet she was not easily wrought on. The Divines put all their Reasons against them in writing, and desired her to commit the determining of this Matter to a Synod of Bishops and Divines, and not to take up an unalterable Resolution upon political Considerations. They laid before her the second Commandment, against making Images for God, and the Curse pronounced against those that made an Image, and put it in a *secret Place* that is, in an Oratory. The Book of *Wisdom* calls them a *Snare for the Feet of the Ignorant*. *St. John* charged the Christians to be *ware of Idols*, and not only of worshipping them. The Use of them fed Superstition and ended in Idolatry, and would breed great Divisions among themselves. They shewed that Images were not allowed in the Church till the 7th Century; and the Contentions that were raised about them in the *Eastern Empire*, occasioned such Distractions as in a great measure made way for its Ruin, and laid it open to the *Mahometans*. These Things wrought so much on the Queen, that she was at last content they should be put down.

It was now resolved to send Visitors over Book IV.
England, so Injunctions were prepared for
them. Those appointed in the first Year of 1559.

King Edward, were now renewed with some
little Alteration: To which, " Rules were
added concerning the Marriages of the
Clergy, for avoiding the Scandals given by
them. The Clergy were also required to
use Habits, according to their Degrees in
the Universities. All People were to re-
sort to their own Parish-Church; and some
were to be appointed to examine and give
notice of those who went not to Church.
All slanderous Words were forbidden. No
Books were to be printed without License.
Enquiry was order'd to be made into all the
Proceedings against Hereticks, during the
late Reign: Reverence was to be expressed,
when the Name *Jesus* was pronounced.
An Explanation was made of the Supre-
macy, that the Queen did not pretend to
any Authority for ministring Divine Ser-
vice; but only that she had the Sovereignty
over all Persons, and that no Foreign Pow-
er was to be acknowledged: And such as
had Scruples about it, might declare that
they took it only in that Sense. A Com-
munion-Table was to be set where the Al-
tars stood formerly; but on Sacrament-days
it was to be brought into the most conve-
nient Place in the Chancel. The Bread for
the Sacrament was to have no Figure on it,
and to be thicker than Wafers. The bid-
ding Prayer was appointed to be the same
that had been used in King Edward's Time,
only an Expression that imported a Prayer
" for

A Gene-
ral Visita-
tion.

“ for the Dead, was changed.” The obliging Churchmen to go always in their Habits, was thought a good Mean to make them observe the Decencies of their Function, when their Habit declared what they were, and would be a Reproach to them, if they behaved themselves unsuitably to it. The bowing at the Name *Jesús*, was considered as such an Acknowledgment of his Divinity, as was made by standing up at the Creed, or the *Gloria Patri*. The Liberty given to explain in what Sense the Oath of Supremacy was taken, gave a great Evidence of the Moderation of the Queen’s Government; that she would not lay Snares for her People, which is always a Sign of a wicked and tyrannical Prince. But the Queen reckon’d, that if such comprehensive Methods could be found out, as would once bring her People under an Union, tho’ perhaps there might remain a great Diversity of Opinions, that would wear off with the present Age, and in the next Generation all would be of one Mind. And this had the good Effect that was expected from it, till the Pope and the King of *Spain* began to open Seminaries beyond Sea, for a Mission to *England*; which have since that Time been the occasion of almost all the Distractions this Nation has labour’d under.

The
High
Commis-
sion
Court.

The Queen granted Commissions for the two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, consisting most of the Laity; some few of the Clergy being mix’d with them: “ Empow’ring them, to visit the Churches, to suspend or deprive unworthy Clergymen, to proceed against scandalous Persons, by Imprisonment

or Church-Censures ; to reserve Pensions Book IV.
for such as resigned their Benefices, and to
restore such as had been unlawfully put out
in the late Reign." By these reserved Pen-
sions, as the Clergy that were turned out,
were kept from extreme Want, so they were
great measure bound to their good Beha-
viour by them. The empowering Laymen to
deprive Churchmen, or excommunicate, could
not be easily excused ; but was as justifiable
as the Commissions to Lay-Chancellors for
those Things were. There are *Nine Thou-*
sand Four Hundred Benefices in England ; but
all these, the Number of those who chose
to resign, rather than to take the Oath, was
very inconsiderable. Fourteen Bishops, six
Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Archdeacons,
seven Heads of Colleges, fifty Prebendaries,
and eighty Rectors, was the whole Number
of those that were turned out. But it was be-
lieved that the greatest Part complied against
their Consciences, and would have been ready
for another Turn, if the Queen had died
while that Race of Incumbents lived, and
the next Successor had been of another Reli-
gion.

1559.

The See of *Canterbury* was now to be
filled ; but *Parker* stood out long, before he
would submit to a Burden which he thought
disproportioned to his Strength. He said, he
was afraid of incurring God's Indignation,
by accepting a Trust which he could not dis-
charge as he ought, having neither Strength
of Body nor Mind equal to it. He was
threaten'd with Imprisonment, in case of Re-
fusal ; but he said, he would suffer it cheer-
fully

Parker is
very un-
willingly
made
Archbi-
shop of
Canter-
bury.

Book IV. fully, rather than engage in a Station that
 1559. was so far above him : and he had such a
 Sense of the Episcopal Function, that he re-
 solved never to aspire to it. He thought he
 had but two or three Years more of Life be-
 fore him, and desired to employ these well
 and not to be advanced to a Place, in which
 he knew he could not answer the Expectation
 that some had of him. He wished the Queen
 would seek out a Man, that was neither ar-
 rogant, faint-hearted, nor covetous : And
 expressed the great Apprehensions he had
 that some Men, who he perceived were Men
 still, notwithstanding all the Trials they pa-
 sed thro' of late, would revive those Heresies
 that were begun beyond Sea ; and that there
 would fall a quarrelling among themselves
 which would prove a pleasant Diversion to
 the Papists. But when by many repeated
 Commands, he was required to accept of this
 great Advancement, he at last writ to the
 Queen herself, and protested, " That out of
 " Regard to God, and the Good of her Ser-
 " vice, he held himself bound in Conscience
 " to declare to her his great Unworthiness
 " for so high a Function ; and so, as prostrate
 " at her Feet, he begged her to press it on
 " him no further : For that Office did
 " require a Man of more Learning, Virtue
 " and Experience, than he perfectly knew
 " was in himself". But as these Demands
 were so earnestly and frequently repeated
 shewed, that he had certainly some of the
 necessary Qualifications, which were true
 Humility, and a Contempt of the World
 so they tended to increase the Esteem which

the Queen and her Ministers had of him : Book IV.
And they persisting in their Resolution, he
was at last forced to yield to it. He was 1559.
upon the sending of the *Conge d' Eslire*,
chosen by the Chapter of *Canterbury* ; and
in *September*, the Queen issued out a War-
rant for his Consecration, which was di-
rected to *Tonstall*, *Bourn* and *Pool*, (the last
was *Cardinal Pool's* Brother, and was Bi-
shop of *Peterborough*) and to *Kitchin*, *Barlow*
and *Scory* : By which it appears, that there
was then some hope of gaining the former
Three to obey the Laws, and to continue
in their Sees ; but they refusing to exe-
cute this, there was a second Warrant di-
rected to *Kitchin*, *Barlow*, *Scory* and *Coverdale*,
and to *Bale*, Bishop of *Offory*, and two Suf-
fragan Bishops, to Consecrate *Parker* : And
on the 17th of *December*, he was Conse-
crated by four of these, according to the
Book of Ordination set out under King *Ed-
ward*, only the giving the Pastoral Staff was
now omitted.

After this, *Parker* ordained *Grindal* for
the See of *London* ; *Cox* for *Ely* ; *Horn* for
Winchester ; *Sandys* for *Worcester* ; *Merick* for
Bangor ; *Young* for *St. Davids* ; *Bullingham* for
Lincoln ; *Jewel* for *Salisbury* ; *Davis* for
St. Asaph ; *Guest* for *Rochester* ; *Berkley* for
Bath and *Wells* ; *Bentham* for *Coventry* and
Litchfield ; *Alley* for *Exeter* ; and *Parre* for
Peterborough ; *Barlow* and *Scory* were put in
the Sees of *Chichester* and *Hereford*. The
Sees of *York* and *Duresme* were kept vacant
Year, upon some Hopes that *Heath* and
Vol. II. P Ton-

Book IV. *Tonstall* would have conformed; but in the Year 1561, *Young* was translated from St. Davids to York, and *Pilkington* was put in *Duresme*.

The Fa-
ble of the
Nag's
Head con-
futed.

All this is opened the more particularly, for discovering the Impudence of the Contrivance of the *Nag's-Head* Ordination, which was first vented in King *James's* Time, above Forty Years after this. It was then said, that the Elect Bishops met at the *Nag's-Head* Tavern in *Cheapside*, and were in great Disorder, because *Kitchen* refused to Consecrate them; upon which, *Scory* made them all kneel down, and laid the Bible on their Heads, saying, *Take thou Authority to Preach the Word of God sincerely*; and that this was all the Ordination that they ever had: And to confirm this, it was pretended, that *Neale*, one of *Bonner's* Chaplains, watched them into the Tavern, and saw all that was done through the Key-hole. This was given out, when all that were concerned in it, were dead; yet the old Earl of *Nottingham*, who had seen *Parker's* Consecration, was still alive, and declared that he saw it done at *Lambeth*, in the Chapel, according to the *Common-Prayer-Book*; and both the Records of the Crown, and the Registers of the See of *Canterbury*, do plainly confute this. The Author did also see the Original Instrument then made, describing all the Particulars relating to *Parker's* Consecration, preserved still in *Corpus Christi* College in *Cambridge*, among the other Manuscripts which he left to that House, in which he had his Education.

The first Thing which the Bishops set about, Book IV.
 was the publishing the Doctrine of the Church. In order to this, a Review was made of those Articles that had been compiled under King *Edward* the VIth, and some small Alterations were made. The most considerable was, that a long Determination that was made formerly against the Corporal Presence, was now left out; and it was only said, *That the Body of Christ was given and received in a Spiritual Manner, and that the Means by which it was received, was Faith.* Yet in the Original Subscription of the Articles by both Houses of Convocation, still extant, there was a full Declaration made against it, in these Words; ‘ *Christ, when he ascended into Heaven, made his Body Immortal, but took not from it the Nature of a Body. But it still retains, according to the Scriptures, a true human Body, which must be always in one definite Place, and cannot be spread into many, or all Places at once: Since then Christ was carried up to Heaven, and is to remain there to the End of the World, and is to come from thence, and from no other Place, to judge the Quick and the Dead; none of the Faithful ought to believe, or profess the Real, or as they call it, the Corporal Presence of his Flesh and Blood in the Eucharist.* But the Design of the Queen’s Council, was to unite once the whole Nation into the Communion of the Church; and it was feared, that so express a Definition against the Real Presence, would have driven

Book IV. many out of the Communion of the Church, who might have been otherwise kept in it; and therefore it was thought enough to assert only the Spiritual Presence; but that it was not necessary to condemn the Corporal Presence, in such express Words; and therefore though the Convocation had so positively determined this Matter, it was thought more conducing to the publick Peace, to dash it in the original Copy, and to suppress it in the Printed Copies.

A Translation of the Bible.

The next Thing they took in Hand, was a new Translation of the Bible: Several Books of it were given to several Bishops, who were appointed to call for such Divines as were learned in the *Greek* or *Hebrew* Tongues, and by their Assistance they were to translate that Parcel that fell to their Share: And so when one had compleated that which was assigned to him, he was to offer it to the Correction of those that were appointed to translate the other Parts; and after every Book had thus past the Censure of all, who were employed in this Matter, then it was approved of. And so great Haste made they in this important Work, that within two or three Years the whole Translation was finished.

The Want of Church Discipline.

There was one Thing yet wanting, to compleat the Reformation of this Church, which was the restoring a Primitive Discipline against scandalous Persons, the establishing the Government of the Church in Ecclesiastical Hands, and the taking it out of Lay-Hands, who have so long prophaned it; and have

have exposed the Authority of the Church, Book IV.
and the Censures of it, chiefly Excommuni-
cation, to the Contempt of the Nation ; by
which the Reverence due to Holy Things is
in so great a Measure lost, and the dreadful-
lest of all Censures is now become the most
scorned and despised. But upon what Rea-
sons, it cannot be now known, this was not
carried on with that Zeal, nor brought to
that Perfection which was necessary. The
want of Ecclesiastical Discipline, set on some
to devise many new Platforms, for the Admi-
nistration of it in every Parish ; all which
gave great Offence to the Government, and
were so much opposed by it, that they came
to nothing. Other Differences were raised
concerning the Vestments of the Clergy ; and
some Factions growing up in the Court, these
Differences were heightened by those who in-
tended to serve their own Ends by making
the several Parties quarrel with so much Ani-
mosity, that it could scarce be possible to re-
concile them : Since that Time, the fatal Di-
vision of this Nation, into the Court and
Country Party, has been the chief Occasion
of the Growth and Continuance of those Dif-
ferences ; so that all the Attempts which
have been made by moderate Men to compose
them, have proved ineffectual.

1559.

At this Time there was a great Revolution
of Affairs in *Scotland*. When there was a
Probability of bringing the Treaty of *Cambray* in
to good Effect, the Cardinal of *Lorain* writ
to his Sister, the Queen Regent of *Scotland*,
and to the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and

The Re-
formation
in Scot-
land.

Book IV. let them know the Resolution that was taken to extirpate Heresy, and exhorted them to use their Endeavours for that End. The Queen Regent saw, that by doing this, she would not only break her Faith with the Lords, who had hitherto adhered to her, upon the Assurance she gave them of her Protection, but that the Peace of *Scotland* would be endangered; for as their Party was strong, so it was not to be doubted, but the Queen of *England* would support them, and so was not easily brought to follow her Brother's cruel Counsels. But the Bishops shut their Eyes upon all Dangers, and resolved to strike a Terror into the People by some severe Executions. They began with *Walter Mell*, an old infirm Priest, who had preached in some Places against many of the Opinions then received: He was particularly accused for having asserted the Lawfulness of the Marriage of the Clergy, and for having condemned the Sacrifice of the Mass, and Transubstantiation, with some other Particulars; all which he confessed, and upon his Refusal to abjure them, he was condemned to be burnt. Yet so averse were the People from those Cruelties, that it was not easy to find any that would execute the Sentence: Nor would any do so much as sell a Cord to tie him to the Stake, so that the Archbishop was forced to send for the Cords of his own *Pavillion*. The old Man expressed great firmness of Mind, and such Chearfulness in his Sufferings, that the People were much affected at it: And this being every where looked on as a Pro-

logue

logue to great Severities that were to follow, Book IV.
the Nobility and Gentry began to consider what was fit to be done. They offered a Petition to the Queen Regent the last Year, that the Worship might be in the Vulgar Tongue, that the Communion might be given in both Kinds, and that scandalous Priests might be turned out, and worthy Men be put in their Places. The Queen Regent being unwilling to irritate so great a Party, before the *Dauphin* was declared King of Scotland, promised that they should not be punished for having their Prayers in the Vulgar Tongue. In Parliament they moved for a Repeal of the Laws for the Bishop's Proceedings against Hereticks, and that nothing might be judged Heresy, but that which was condemned by the Word of God; but the Queen Regent told them these things could not pass, because of the Opposition which was made to them by the Spiritual Estate; upon that they made a Protestation, That whereas they had modestly moved for a Redress of Abuses, they were not to be blamed for the ill Effects of rejecting their Petition, and the Violences that might follow.

But when the Queen had gained her End, in relation to the *Dauphin*, she ordered a Citation to be served on all the Reformed Preachers: The Earl of *Glencairn* was, upon that, sent to put her in mind of her former Promises: She answered him roughly, ' That ' maugre all that would take those Mens ' Part, they should be banished *Scotland*; ' and added, that Princes were bound only

Book IV. to observe their Promises, so far as they
 found it convenient for them to do it. To
 1559. this he replied, That if she renounced her
 Promises, they would renounce their Obedi-
 ence to her.

It is first In *St. Johnstown*, that Party entred into
 set up in the Churches, and had Sermons publickly in
St. John- them. The Ministers were coming from all
stown. Parts, to appear on the 20th of May, for to
 that Day they had been cited; and great
 Numbers came along with them. The
 Queen apprehending the ill Effects of a great
 Confluence of People, sent them Word not
 to come, and upon this many went Home
 again; yet upon their non-Appearance, they
 were all declared Rebels. This foul Dealing
 made many leave her, and go over to those
 that were met at *St. Johnstown*. And the
 Heat of the People was raised to that Pitch,
 that they broke in upon the Houses of the
 Monks and Friars, and after they had di-
 stributed all that they found in them, except
 that which the Monks conveyed away to the
 Poor, they pulled them down to the Ground.
 This provoked the Queen so much, that she
 resolved to punish that Town in a most ex-
 emplary Manner: So she gathered the *French*
 Soldiers together, with such others as would
 join with her: But the Earl of *Glencairn* ga-
 thered 2500 Men together, and with incre-
 dible Haste, he marched to that Place,
 where there were now in all 7000 armed
 Men. This made the Queen afraid to en-
 gage with them: so an Agreement was made.
 An Oblivion was promised for all that was
 pass'd;

pass'd ; Matters of Religion were referred to Book IV.
a Parliament, and the Queen was to be re-
ceived into *St. Johnstown*, without carrying
her *Frenchmen* with her : But she carried

1559.

them with her into the Town, and as she
put a Garison in it, so she punished many
for what was past ; and when her Promises
were objected to her, she answered, ' Princes
' were not to be strictly charged with their
' Promises, especially when they were made
' to Hereticks ; and that she thought it no
' Sin to kill and destroy them all, and then
' would excuse it as well as could be, when
' it was done. ' This turned the Hearts of
the whole Nation from her, and in many
Places they began to pull down Images, and
to raze Monasteries. The Queen Regent re-
presented this to the King of *France*, as done
on Design to shake off the *French Yoke*, and
desired a great Force to reduce the Country.
On the other Hand, some were sent over from
the Lords, to give a true Representation of
the Matter, and to let him know, that an
Oblivion for what was past, and the free
Exercise of their Religion for the Time to
come, would give full Satisfaction. The
French King began now to apprehend, how
great a Charge the keeping that Kingdom in
Peace was like to come to ; and saw the Dan-
ger of the *Scots* casting themselves into the
Arms of the Queen of *England*, therefore he
sent one, in whom the Constable put an en-
tire Confidence, to *Scotland*, to bring him a
true Report of the State of that Matter that
was so variously represented : But before he

Book IV. could return, the King of *France* was dead, and the Constable was in Disgrace; and all Affairs were put in the Hands of the Brothers of the House of *Guise*, so that all moderate Councils were now out of Doors. The People did so universally rise against the Queen Regent, that she was forced to retire to *Dunbar-Castle*: She was once willing to refer the whole Matter to a Parliament: But 2000 Men coming over from *France*, and Assurances being sent her, of a greater Force to follow, she took Heart, and came and fortified *Leith*, and again broke her last Agreement; upon which the Lords pretended, that in their Queen's Minority, the Government was chiefly in the States, and that the Regent was only the chief Administrator, and accountable to them, so they resolved to depose her from her Regency.

They objected many Male Administrations to her; as her beginning a War in the Kingdom, and bringing in Strangers to subdue it; her embasing the Coin; governing without Consent of the Nobility, and breaking her Faith and Promise to them; upon which they declared that she had fallen from her Regency, and suspended her Power till the next Parliament. The Lords, now called the *Lords of the Congregation*, retired from *Edinburgh* to *Sterling*: Upon which the *French* came to *Edinburgh*, and set up the Mass again in the Churches; then a new Supply came from *France*, commanded by the Marquis of *Elbeuf*, one of the Queen Regent's Brothers, so that there were in all

4000 *French* in *Scotland*. But by her having this Foreign Force, the whole Nation came to be united against the Queen, and to look on her as a common Enemy. The *Scots*, who had been hitherto animated, and secretly supplied with Money and Ammunition from *England*, were now forced to desire the Queen of *England's* Aid more openly: And *France* was now like to be so much divided within itself, that the Queen did not much apprehend a War with that Crown; so she was more easily determined to assist the *Scots*.

Book IV.

1559.

A Treaty was made between the Duke of *Norfolk* and the *Scots*: They promised to be the Queen's perpetual Allies, and that after the *French* were driven out of *Scotland*, they would continue their Obedience to their Queen: Upon which, 2000 Horse, and 6000 Foot, were sent to assist the *Scots*. These besieged *Leith*, during which, there were considerable Losses on both Sides, but the Losses on the Side of the *English* were more easily made up, Supplies being nearer at Hand. The *French* offered to put *Calais* again into the Queen of *England's* Hands, if she would recall her Forces out of *Scotland*: She answered on the sudden, 'She did not value that Fish-Town, so much as she did the Quiet of the Isle of *Britain*.' But she offered to mediate a Peace between them and the *Scots*.

The Queen of *England* assists the *Scots*.

Before this could be effected, the Queen 10 June. Regent of *Scotland* died; she sent for some of the *Scotch* Lords in her Sickness, and asked them dies.

Book IV. them Pardon for the Injuries she had done them: She advised them to send both the

1559. *French and English out of Scotland*, and prayed them to continue in their Obedience to their Queen: She also discoursed with one of their Preachers, and declared that she hoped to be saved only by the Merits of Christ. She had governed the Nation, before the last Year of her Life, with such Justice and Prudence, and was so great an Example, both in her own Person, and in the Order of her Court, that if she had died before her Brother's bloody Counsels had involved her in these last Passages of her Life, she had been the most lamented and esteemed Queen that had been in that Nation for many Ages. Her own Inclinations were Just and Moderate; and she often said, that if her Counsels might take Place, she did not doubt but she should bring all Things again to perfect Tranquillity and Peace: Soon after, a Peace was concluded between *England, France, and Scotland*: An Oblivion was granted for all that was past; the *French and English* were to be sent out of *Scotland*, and all other Things were to be referred to a Parliament. During the Queen's Absence, the Kingdom was to be governed by a Council of Twelve, all Natives; of these the Queen was to name Seven, and the States were to chuse Five. So both the *English* and *French* were sent out of *Scotland*; and the Parliament met in *August*.

In it, all Acts for the former Way of Religion were repealed, and a Confession of Faith penned by *Knox*, afterwards inserted among the Acts of Parliament, 1567, was confirmed. These Acts were opposed only by Three temporal Lords, who said, they would believe as their Fathers had done: But all the spiritual Lords, both Bishops and Abbots, consented to them; and they did dilapidate the Lands and Revenues of the Church in the strangest Manner, that was ever known: The Abbots converted their Abbies into Temporal Estates, and the Bishops, though they continued Papists still, divided all their Lands among their Bastards or Kindred, and procured Confirmations of many of the Grants they gave from *Rome*: By which that Church was so impoverished, that if King *James* and King *Charles* the First, had not with much Zeal, and great Endeavours, retrieved some Part of the ancient Revenues, and provided a considerable Maintenance for the Inferior Clergy, all the Encouragements to Religion and Learning had been to such a Degree withdrawn, that Barbarism must have again over-run that Kingdom. When these Acts thus agreed on in the Parliament of *Scotland* were sent over to *France*, they were rejected with great Scorn; so that the *Scots* began to apprehend a new War: But *Francis* the Second's Death soon after, delivered them from all their Fears: For their Queen having no more the Support of so great a Crown, was forced to return Home, and govern in such

1559.
A Parlia-
ment
meets,
and settles
the Re-
formati-
on.

Book IV. such a Manner, as that Nation was pleased to submit to.

1559.

Thus the Queen of *England* divided *Scotland* from its ancient Dependance on *France*, and had tied it so to her own Interests, that she was not only secure on that Side the Head of her Dominions, but came to have so all the great an Interest in *Scotland*, that Affairs there were for the most Part governed according to the Directions she sent thither. Other Accidents did also concur to give her a great Share in all the most Important Affairs of *Europe*.

Both in
France,

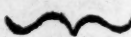
In *France*, upon *Henry* the Second's fatal End, great Divisions arose between the Princes of the Blood, and the Brothers of the House of *Guise*, into whose Hands the Administration of Affairs was put, during *Francis* the Second's short Reign: It was pretended on the one Hand, that the King was not of Age till he was Twenty Two, and that during his Minority the Princes of the Blood were to govern by the Advice of the Courts of Parliaments, and the Assembly of Estates: On the other Hand, it was said, that the King might assume the Government. and employ whom he pleased at Fourteen. A Design was laid, in which many of both Religions concurred, for taking the Government out of the Hands of the Strangers, and seizing on the King's Person; but a Protestant, moved by a Principle of Conscience, discovered it. Upon this the Prince of *Conde*, and many others, were seized on, and if the King had not died

died soon after, they had suffered for it. Book IV.

Charles the Ninth succeeding, who was under Age, the King of Navarre was declared Regent; but He, though before a Protestant, was drawn into the Papist Interest; and joined himself with the Queen Mother, and the Constable. A severe Edict was made against the Protestants, but the Execution of it was like to raise great Disorders; so another was made in a great Assembly of many Princes of the Blood, Privy-Counsellors, and Eight Courts of Parliament, allowing the free Exercise of that Religion: Yet after this, the Duke of Guise reconciled himself to the Queen-Mother, and they resolved to break the Edict: So the Duke of Guise happening to pass by a Meeting of Protestants, his Servants offered Violence to them; from reproachful Words, it went to throwing of Stones; by one of which the Duke was hurt: Upon which, his Servants killed Sixty of the Protestants, and wounded Two Hundred; and upon this the Edict was every where broken. It was said, that the Regent's Power did not extend so far, as that he could break so publick an Edict, and that therefore it was lawful for the Protestants to defend themselves. The Prince of Conde set himself at the Head of them, and the King of Navarre being killed soon after the breaking out of the War, He, as the first Prince of the Blood that was of Age, ought to have been declared Regent: So that the Protestants said, their de-

1559.

Book IV. defending themselves was not Rebellion,

1559.  since they had both the Law, and the First Prince of the Blood on their Side. The Wars lasted near Thirty Years, for in all that Time, notwithstanding some Intervals of Peace, the Seeds of War were never rooted so out, but that they were ready to spring up, upon every new Occasion. In this the Queen interposed, and supported the Protestant Party; sometimes with Men, but oftner with Money, so that she had near the Half of that Kingdom depending on her.

And in the Netherlands.

In the *Netherlands*, a long Continuance of Civil War almost on the same Account, gave her the like Advantages. The King of *Spain*, by endeavouring to set up the Courts of Inquisition in those Provinces, and by keeping some *Spanish* Troops among them, and other Excesses in his Government, contrary to the Articles of the *Latus Introitus*, provoked them so much, that they shook off his Yoke; and were supported by the Aid and Money which the Queen sent them. So that the Queen met with such a Conjunction of Affairs in the Dominions of those Princes that were next her, (of whom only she had Reason to be afraid,) as scarce any Prince ever had.

The Excellent of *Christendom*; and at Home Things were Admini- so happily managed, Trade did so flourish, and Justice was so equally distributed, that she became the Wonder of the *England*. World.

World. She was Victorious in all her Wars with *Spain*; and no wonder; for it appeared signally in the Ruin of the great *Armada*, which *Spain* look'd upon as *Invincible*, that Heaven fought for her. She reigned more absolutely over the Hearts, than the Persons of her Subjects. She always followed the true Interests of her People, and so found her Parliaments always ready to comply with her Desires, and to grant her Subsidies, as often as she called for them: And as she never asked them, but when the Occasion for them was visible, so after they were granted, if the State of Affairs changed so, that she needed them not, she readily discharged them. *Rome* and *Spain* set many Engines on Work, both against her Person and Government, but she still lived and triumphed. In the first Ten Years of her Reign, the Papists were so compliant, that there was no Stir made about Matters of Religion. Pope *Pius* the Fourth condemned the Madness of his Predecessor, in that high and provoking Message which he sent her; and therefore he attempted a Reconciliation with her, at two several Times: And offered, if she would join herself to the See of *Rome*, that he would annul the Sentence against her Mother's Marriage, and confirm the *English* Service, and the Communion in both Kinds. But she refused to enter into any Treaty with him. *Pius* the Fifth, that succeeded him in that Chair, resolved to contrive her

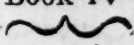
Book IV.

1559.

Book IV. her Death, as is related by him that writes his Life. The unfortunate Queen of Scotland was forced to take Sanctuary in England; where it was resolved to use her well, and restore her to her Crown and Country. But her own officious Friends, and the frequent Plots that were laid for taking away the Queen's Life, brought on her the Calamities of a long Imprisonment, that ended in a tragical Death: Which, though it was the greatest Blemish of this Reign, yet was made in some sort justifiable, if not necessary, by the many Attempts that the Papists made on the Queen's Life; and by the Deposition which Pope Pius the Fifth thundered out against her; from which it was inferred, that as long as that Party had the Hopes of such a Successor, the Queen's Life was not safe, nor her Government secure.

Severities
against
Papists
were necessary.

This led her towards the End of her Reign, to greater Severities against those of the Roman Communion; of which a copious Account is given by Sir Francis Walsingham, that was for so many Years employed, either in Foreign Embassies, or in the Secrets of State at Home; that none knew better than he did, the hidden Springs that moved and directed all her Councils. He writ a long Letter to a French Man, giving him an Account of all the Severities of the Queen's Government, both against Papists and Puritans.

The Substance of which is, ' That the Book IV.
 Queen laid down Two Maxims of State; 
 the one was, not to force Conscience; 1559.
 the other was not to let Factious Pra- Sir Francis
 stices go unpunished, because they were Walsing-
 covered with the Pretence of Conscience: ham's Ac-
 At first, she did not revive those severe count of
 Laws past in her Father's Time, by the Steps
 which the Refusal of the Oath of Supre- she pro-
 macy was made Treason, but left her dedeed.
 People to the Freedom of their Thoughts,
 and made it only Penal to extol a Fo-
 reign Jurisdiction: She also laid aside the
 Word *Supream Head*, and the Refusers
 of the Oath were only disabled from
 holding Benefices, or Charges, during
 their Refusal. Upon Pius the Fifth's Ex-
 communicating her, though the Rebellion
 in the North was chiefly occasioned by
 that, she only made a Law against the
 bringing over, or publishing of Bulls;
 and the venting of *Agnus Dei's*, or such
 other Love Tokens, which were sent
 from Rome, on Design to draw the
 Hearts of her People from her, which
 were no essential Parts of that Religion;
 so that this could hurt none of their
 Consciences. But when after the Twen-
 tieth Year of her Reign, it appeared
 that the King of Spain designed to in-
 vade her Dominions, and that the Priests
 that were sent over from the Seminaries
 beyond Sea, were generally employed to
 corrupt the Subjects in their Allegiance,
 by which, Treason was carried in the
 Clouds,

1559.

Clouds, and infused secretly in Confession: Then pecuniary Punishments were inflicted on such as withdrew from the Church: And in Conclusion, she was forced to make Laws of greater Rigor, but did often mitigate the Severity of them, to all that would promise to adhere to her, in case of a Foreign Invasion. As for the Puritans, as long as they only inveighed against some Abuses, as Plurality, Non-residence, or the like, it was not their Zeal against those, but their Violence only that was condemned: When they refused to comply with some Ceremonies, and question'd the Superiority of Bishops, and declared for a Democracy in the Church, they were convinced at with great Gentleness: But it was observed, that they affected Popularity much, and the Methods they took to compass their Ends, were judged dangerous, and they made such Use of the Aversion the Nation had to Popery, that it was visible they were in Hazard of running from one Extream to another: They set up a New Model of Church Discipline, which was like to prove no less dangerous to the Liberties of private Men, than to the Sovereign Power of the Prince: Yet all this was born with, as long as they proceeded with those Expressions of Duty, which became Subjects. But afterwards, when they resolved to carry on their Designs, without waiting for the Consent of the Magistrate,

and

and entred into a Combination ; when they began to defame the Government by ridiculous Pasquils, and boasted of their Numbers and Strength, and in some Places broke out into Tumults, then it appeared that it was Faction, and not Zeal, that animated them. Upon that, the Queen found it necessary to restrain them more than she had done formerly ; yet she did it with all the Moderation that could consist with the Peace of the Church and State. And thus, from this Letter, an Idea of this whole Reign may be justly formed.

1559.

The Conclusion.

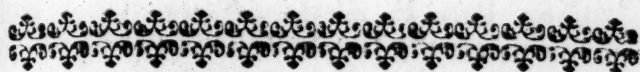
THUS have I prosecuted, what I at first undertook, the Progress of the Reformation, from its first, and small Beginnings in England, till it came to a compleat Settlement in the Time of this Queen. Of whose Reign, if I have adventured to give any Account, it was not intended so much for a full Character of Her, and Her Councils, as to set out the great and visible Blessings of God that attended on Her ; the many Preservations she had, and that by such signal Discoveries, as both saved Her Life, and secured Her Government ; and the unusual Happiness of Her whole Reign, which raised Her to the Esteem, and Envy of that Age, and the Wonder

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Book IV. Wonder of all Posterity. It was wonderful
indeed, that a Virgin Queen could Rule
1559. such a Kingdom, for above Forty Four
Years, with such constant Success, in so
great Tranquillity at Home, with a vast
Increase of Wealth, and with such Glory
abroad. All which may justly be esteem-
ed to have been the Rewards of Heaven,
Crowning that Reign with so much Ho-
nour and Triumph, that was begun with
the Reformation of Religion.

F I N I S.

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